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PhD thesis

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**THE FEMALE EXPERIENCE OF SCHOOLING IN
SCOTLAND, 1872-1945:
LASSIES O' PAIRTS OR LASSIES APART?**

**Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
Departments of Scottish History and Education
in the Faculty of Arts, University of Glasgow 1996
DAVID LIMOND.**

**I declare that this thesis embodies the results of
my own special work, that it has been completed by
myself and that it does not include work forming
part of a thesis presented successfully for a degree
in this or any other university.**

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CONTENTS

Abstract

Introduction pp 1-24

Outline of historical background pp 25-53

Rural experiences pp 54-87

Catholic experiences pp 88-114

Independent school experiences pp 115-149

Mainstream experiences: curriculum pp 150-192

Mainstream experiences: attendance, discipline and exams pp 193-226

Conclusions pp 227-257

Bibliography pp 258-289

Bibliographical Supplement I pp 290-293

Bibliographical Supplement II pp 294-296

Appendix I pp 297-298

Appendix II p 299

ABSTRACT

In this work I examine aspects of the Scottish female school experience between 1872 and 1945. Previous research in the field of Scottish education history has often been of a bureaucratic or 'Acts and Facts' nature concentrating on matters of school legislation, funding and organisation. More recent research has moved Scottish education history more into the social history mainstream by emphasising the links between educational developments and social trends, movements and ideologies. This new work has often been statistical in nature and has tended to borrow methods, terms and conventions from sociology. While these recent developments have stretched Scottish educational historiography, they have continued to concentrate on what may be called 'adult issues'.

Little work in Scottish educational history has concentrated on the experiences of the children being educated themselves. I attempt to redress this imbalance by using a wide range of autobiographical sources (including published and unpublished texts and oral and other direct testimonies) to recapture as many as possible of the diverse female school experiences in Scotland between 1872 and 1945. In successive chapters (having first discussed issues of method and given a broad general outline of Scottish educational history between 1872 and 1945) I examine the rural, Catholic, independent school and mainstream (ie urban, Protestant or non-Catholic and state school) elementary/primary and high/secondary school experiences.

I conclude that the rural experience was subject to considerable regional variation in girls' school experiences, with these differences reflecting directly differing economic and social relations in those areas of Scotland where more or less land was worked as small farms or crofts. I conclude that the Catholic experience is

not easily assessed as relevant autobiographical sources are deficient but that the dominant distinctive component of being a Catholic girl in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 was the possibility of being taught by nuns. I examine the relationships between teaching orders of nuns and the girls whom they taught and judge nuns to have been especially capable of inspiring Catholic devotion in girls leading many of those girls to be drawn to teaching themselves. The independent school experience in Scotland, while distinct to that of state schooling, is shown to have differed less than did the independent/public school experience for girls in England. I conclude further that while independently educated girls in Scotland did receive benefits from their distinctive schooling, they were not necessarily especially equipped to form a female 'leadership class' and such significant female movements as the suffrage campaign in Scotland were conducted in large measure without their leadership. The mainstream experience was subject to internal regional and class difference but that it was by no means deficient by comparison to the urban, Catholic and independent experiences.

I close the work by offering a study of the psychology of educational expectation for girls, their fathers and their mothers in Scotland between 1872 and 1945. I conclude that mainstream working class fathers in particular may - as revealed by autobiographical evidence from fathers and daughters - have had very complicated reasons for seeking to further their daughters' schooling and that these reasons may not always have been directly linked to the family's economic needs.

*The task [of writing history] is not easy
but a matter of sweat and watching*

- II MACCABEES 2;xxvi

In this introduction I shall raise questions of method relevant to the study of girls' schooling in Scotland between 1872 and 1945. I shall discuss also the nature and use of sources in a work such as this. And in particular I shall discuss how these methods, applied to these sources can illuminate the idea of what I shall call Scottish educational particularism but which writer Lewis Grassie Gibbon rather more poetically called "the once-national worship of scholastic attainment"¹. The purpose of what follows is not to discuss further the administration of Scottish schools between 1872 and 1945. Rather, it is to do as much as may be possible to uncover, record and analyse what can be known of girls' experiences of living and learning in the Scotland of that period. It is thus what may be called a 'narrative social history' which captures the drama of the (school) lives of its subjects. When social history is criticised as a subject of little appeal beyond academic circles, the grounds are usually that it lacks the narrative drive which can sweep an audience along. The discipline's most trenchant critic, G R Elton, has characterised social history as a "series of still photographs" produced by methods derived primarily from sociology - a lifeless history of society with the people taken out as it were. For Elton social history is a flawed (and doomed) project because it is *necessarily* dominated by statistical analysis and non-narrative abstraction. The results of such work, he argues, fail to impress the general reader and, more importantly, those academics (of whom he is one) who understand how history *ought* to be practised because it proceeds on the false belief that "a series of still photographs equals a moving picture"².

I thus seek to avoid the style of quantitative social or sociological history which attempts to reconstruct the story of society while ignoring the humanity of those who comprise that society. I seek also to avoid the bureaucratic education history often derided as the 'Acts and Facts' tradition. In contrast to the bureaucratic Acts and Facts tradition (a term apparently first employed in the context of Scottish education history by Donald Withrington in the 1970s, he in turn having

borrowed the phrase from English educational historian Brian Simon) there has more recently come the call for the integration of education history into the consideration of larger social and political developments³. This plea for a Scottish educational history using new methods and showing new interests has been satisfied by some developments in Scottish historiography including many of the articles in the collection edited by Walter Humes and Hamish Paterson⁴. My project here is a further development along the lines suggested, or at least hinted at, by Walter Humes's own contribution to the collection which he jointly edited. In a remark buried in a footnote (as many important ideas often are) he bemoans the fact that "The whole field of cultural studies is relatively undeveloped in Scotland"⁵ and elsewhere he calls in particular for "the study of literature and biography...[to] promote greater awareness of the difference between education and schooling"⁶. This last clause may be read in either of two ways (and perhaps more). On one interpretation it may refer to the difference between formalised learning taking place in schools and wider forms of extra-school learning. Alternatively it may be taken to mean the difference between the introduction and implementation of educational institutions and structures (which are and have always been the product of particular social and political climates as those following Withrington, including Humes, have shown) and the *experience* of the delivery of the services provided by those institutions and structures. I shall assume it to have been meant in the latter sense.

In other words: bureaucratic history will tell us only that such and such arrangements were written down and ordered to be put into place at such and such a time; grounding education history in the larger socio-political context will tell us *why* such arrangements were thought to be necessary but neither of these historical schools can say anything about what it was like to be a child in a school or classroom when such arrangements came into force. For that matter, neither of these schools can tell us whether or not any given set of arrangements *did* come

into operation in practice. For these kinds of experiential knowledge, it is necessary to turn to the literary and (auto)biographical sources Humes suggests. The method which I employ here owes much to the suggestions of Jonathan Rose in his 1993 paper on British working class elementary schooling from 1875 to 1918. Rose advocates "plumbing educational history to the very bottom....[by] reconstruct[ing] the classroom experience from the viewpoint of the...child"⁷ using direct testimony and autobiographical and literary sources. This work is however both more narrowly focused than that of Rose - in that it deals with *Scottish girls* rather than *British children* and more wide ranging in that it covers a longer period (1872 to 1945) and takes in independent schools and state schools beyond elementary level. I shall describe a rich and complicated pattern of experience in the understanding of which individual preference and personal character will be weighed along with gender, class, region of origin or religion.

Elton's opinion to the contrary notwithstanding, it is possible to produce a social history which is something more than so many lifeless 'snapshots' by relying primarily on personal narrative sources, both those originally written on the subject's own initiative (be they published or unpublished) as autobiographies and those originally collected as direct testimonies on the initiative of some researcher. There are crucial differences between oral testimonies and autobiographies it is true but these may not be as great as Paul Thompson suggests at length in *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*. Most obviously, autobiographers cannot usually be closely cross questioned as those providing oral history testimony. However I shall treat each equally with the other on the assumption that there is little enough known about a field as specialised as Scottish female educational experiences to let *preferences* for types of source intrude on the debate⁸. Where collected direct testimony is concerned I have attempted to avoid 'reinventing the wheel' by relying wherever possible on

published collections of material and using a small sample of my own only as leavening.

In Scottish historiography, the collection and use of such sources for the study of social (especially female social) experiences has only recently come into its own but its new manifestations are often exceptionally interesting works. Jean Faley's *Up Oor Close: Memories of Domestic Life in Glasgow Tenements, 1919-1945*⁹ concentrates largely on female experiences and uses oral material following a pattern set in England by Elizabeth Roberts. Faley's next volume on the experiences of urban children in the same period must be keenly awaited by both academic and popular audiences¹⁰. It is in such works that the response to Elton lies. The narrative force which he imagines social history cannot produce (as opposed to the high political history which he favours) can be achieved so long as the right sources are found and appropriate methods employed. The sources called for are personal narratives and the methods are more those of literary criticism than sociology. If history is to be about anything of value then it must surely be about remembering the forgotten. Looking to personal narratives and realising that any social experience is no more than a collection of individual, human experiences is what might be called putting the people back into social history. It is to this end of remembering the lives of those who would otherwise be forgotten (either because historians such as Elton would not bother attempting to remember them or because sociological or bureaucratic historians would ignore) that "the biographical genre of narrative reconstruction should not be overlooked"¹¹.

However, using such narrative sources as oral testimony, diaries and autobiographies is not without difficulties. There is the obvious technical problem that many published diaries and autobiographies (unless they are of some figure of recognised historical standing and importance) are: "allowed to go out of

print....[and] become scarce and hard to find"¹². There is the further problem that such sources can "be very particular to the area where the.....[author] lived"¹³. But these are difficulties which the researcher in personal narratives must overcome on behalf of the audience of his/her work and they can only be overcome by finding more and better sources if possible and/or using to maximum effect those which are found. More important are the problems which the reader of a study based on narrative sources must overcome for him/her self.

There are perhaps three of these. First there is the matter of knowing the degree of accuracy in personal recollections. This is often all but impossible to gauge by the conventional means and standards which would be recognised amongst political historians such as Elton far less those of the generalising sociologist or sociologically minded social historian. Certain sorts of factual claims in narrative personal sources can be checked but these are only ever the most trivial components of stories. How, if at all, can the reader of a personal narrative or the reader of a study based on personal narratives be sure that the author of any particular narrative is describing accurately intimate mental states and personal experiences? Second there is the problem that even if there is no wilful intent to deceive in a source such as an autobiography or diary, the question arises - is the agent always the best judge of the reasons behind his or her own actions? Finally, it is not at all clear how widely personal stories can be generalised. This last point is demonstrated graphically by Mary Jo Maynes, author of a survey of European working class autobiographical writings of the nineteenth century, who notes that:

*European working- class autobiographers were disproportionately likely to.....have been good pupils and to have had a high commitment to self-improvement through education as adults.*¹⁴

Taking this to be true for Britain as for Europe, it immediately appears as an advantage and a disadvantage for a work such as this. It is an advantage in that it suggests most available autobiographies will have strong sections on school experiences (which is generally true). But it may be a disadvantage in that the material those sections contain may not be representative of anything other than the experience of those who valued and enjoyed school and had some success there.

However Maynes is not perturbed by this. She goes on to argue that knowing this difficulty exists "contextualize[s] but....[does] not discredit autobiographical testimony" because:

[the] stories that people tell about their life experiences [can] become the basis of alternative sociological practices.....[so that] the alleged unrepresentativeness of personal narrative is not an epistemological liability¹⁵.

But just what are these alternative methods and what is the argument of this thesis? Writing of his own work, Wilfred Owen said "The poetry is in the pity"; similarly, we might say that here the argument is in the method. Thus, something of a solution to all three of the questions posed above may lie in applying much the same tests to personal narratives that we would to fictional narratives. In other words, because human life is led where sociology and psychology meet or, as Indian historian Himani Bannerji puts it, "Mental spaces are constructed from countless invisible but powerful sources" so that "objective social existences are not always coterminous"¹⁶, so a text is only as good as its reader. Personal narrative sources must be read critically, subjected to tests of humanity and treated with a little imagination. The past may be another country where people do things differently but it is not so very different - especially not the recent past of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thus personal narrative

sources can be judged and weighed just as other stories might be. When the humanity of the reader's imagination meets the humanity of the author's experience there is a spark of recognition. Just as lightning is not a movement of charge from clouds to earth but a mutual exchange of charge between earth and clouds, so this spark leaps mutually between the reader and the text. Tested in this way for their humanity we may find certain authors qualified to speak for a class or group without being able precisely to quantify the degree to which any individual's experiences conform to those of any other. To paraphrase Dylan Thomas, there are some recollections which simply *do* "fork lightning" and deserve to be recognised for doing so.

Generally speaking, those who write down or otherwise have experiences of life recorded do so not because they are exceptional but are exceptional because they do so. But this can only be understood by coming to a personal narrative as one human to another and assuming that what is true for the recorded voice is likely to have been true for all those whose voices have not been recorded on tape or in some written form. Doing so is the essence of Mayne's 'alternative practice'. Equally, if reasons for actions or thoughts about experiences have been deliberately or unwittingly recorded inaccurately they will ring as hollow as a badly written novel. There will always be easy judgements to make and some personal narrative claims will demand to be accepted or beg to be rejected right away and there will always be grey areas of indecision. But the process of judgement and assessment need not to be perfect - indeed if it is to be truly human it cannot be perfect. All that matters is that it be applied in a spirit which accepts that history is, has always been and will always be more art than science.

As regards feminist critical analysis, I have had before me always the precept that it is necessary to give "reading[s of] old [historical] sources with an enquiring feminist eye, and introducing new and more appropriate sources"¹⁷. But several

more methodological problems present themselves. The narrative sources to which we refer here do not come from the original participants in the events which they describe. Marshall MacLuhan said once that "children live mythically and in depth" by which he appears to have meant that they have rich fantasy lives which contain logics and languages which neither fully translate nor even can be fully remembered in adult life. There is a great deal in childhood which 'makes sense' in terms which cannot be recaptured later. Thus there is a sense in which adult autobiographers or those who recall their childhoods as oral history testimony are more like biographers of their childhood selves. In May 1894 the headmaster noted in the log book of the small school at Ferness that "a gate should be placed across the entrance....to prevent outsiders.....[entering] the playground"¹⁸, but psychologically the gate already exists and prevents any complete return to the world of childhood and school. This state of affairs has been described as "[t]he mystery of childhood" and attributed to "a lack of self-writing by children"¹⁹. There is only the exercise of a little imagination to bridge the gap.

As with any source, the historian who uses autobiographical narratives does not encounter the events of the past, only more or less accurate reflections of those events. From the back of the cave, nothing is necessarily as it seems. The standard and seemingly obvious definition of an autobiography as 'the story of a life' is of course misleading because an autobiography is more accurately '*a story about a life*'. However, the historian who spends too long dreaming of being a philosopher may end up as mired in doubt as the philosopher who dreamed of being a butterfly and J P Roos has argued that too much concern with finely sliced philosophical problems as to the nature of autobiographical truth is less than helpful²⁰. This is akin to the 'common sense' assumptions which I have adopted in the chapters which follow. Here the often loaded term common sense should not be understood to refer to any kind of anti-academic populism ('most people never

wonder if an autobiography's *true*, they just read it - stop wasting our time and money you academics, just use your common sense!') but to the deeper proposition that even if there are metaphysical problems which we as human beings cannot solve ('is an autobiography *true*?') because the problems are so intimately bound up with our natures at least we can be sure that these problems are universally experienced as we are all composed of the same metaphysical stuff. If life is but a dream and autobiographies are in some almost incomprehensible sense pallid reflections of reality which cannot be trusted because the true nature of experience is infinitely unknowable, so what? As we are all dreaming in the *same* boat - which is now stranded at the back of a cave - while we wonder what's become of the tree in the quad and the butterfly which used to live there we might as well get on with things. We cannot have certain knowledge but we certainly can have knowledge and the knowledge that we have is all we have. The quality of historical knowledge is almost certainly more greatly improved by working with whatever is available than by worrying as to the precise nature of what is available. What follows is thus a 'sleeves rolled up' thesis which engages directly with specific autobiographical sources (dreadful cliché though it is) on a case-by-case basis and subjects each to tests of plausibility only as and when necessary rather than seeking to evolve any over-arching theory as to the nature of autobiography itself.

However, this is not to say that no insight can be gained by examining secondary literature as to the nature of autobiography. In this respect the final chapter of Carolyn Steedman's *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1931*²¹ is a useful primer. Although appended to a biography of the pioneer socialist educationalist and activist it can be treated as a 'stand-alone' essay on the distinctive nature of the task of writing a biography primarily from autobiographical sources - and in essence this thesis is a kind of mass biography. Steedman's discussion is especially relevant for two of the themes she develops.

First she asks: it being the case that because autobiographies are explicitly intended to tell a story - and one story only - rather than being, as archival sources might be assumed to be, items which merely contribute to allowing a story to be told, are they not to be treated with circumspection? In other words, is the autobiography not necessarily too structured, too neat, too contrived to be a legitimate source? This she answers by saying that while it is true that an autobiography is rather more akin to a completed historian's work than a scrappy archival source which may contain only a few fragmentary facts arranged in no particular order, it no more follows that we should disregard autobiography than disregard the works of historians. Of course the autobiographer has to some extent imposed order on chaos but so does the historian²².) Thus perhaps it not so much journalism as autobiography which should be termed the 'first draft of history'. To put it another way, an autobiography has a degree of authorial intent which distinguishes it from the generality of archival sources and thus perhaps it ought not to be seen as a primary source but rather as a kind of intermediary source between primary and secondary - more 'worked over' than is generally the case with primary material but still admitting of further working over by the historian. It is in this sense that the somewhat contrived or packaged autobiography can be taken seriously as a source. *Inter alia* she then moves on to discuss a further useful point when she asks how the purposes or intentions of modern and contemporary autobiographies might differ from those of the more distant past - especially the Puritan devotional autobiographies which are generally recognised to constitute the genre's foundations in the English speaking world at least²³. Here she concludes that they differ in being more often and more extensively directed inwards than out and this certainly seems to be a point worth emphasising. It has been the distinguishing mark of the autobiography since at least the middle to late nineteenth century that it has tended to be the work of authors willing to take risks in attempting to describe their inner states (and

sometimes to guess at those of others such as parents). This, Steedman points out tends to separate the autobiography from the memoir. The latter clings more closely to the roots of the genre by concentrating on public action. As with her previous point as to the necessarily contrived nature of autobiography this does ensure that it is a problematic type of source with which to work but it bears saying that as autobiography has 'grown up' (or 'grown *in*') from the mid/late nineteenth century so too has the writing of history. Thus, as we have become more accustomed to reading historical works which describe or speculate on inner states so we ought to be more comfortable with such description/speculation in autobiography.

Perhaps three related issues of abstract concern deserve some further treatment here. They are as follows.

/1/ What role have the publishers/editors and/or audiences of/for autobiographies to play in their composition?

Paradoxically, the autobiography is not the 'ultimate solo effort' that it may appear. Except in the cases of autobiographies which remain forever in manuscript form (about which the historian is likely to know nothing), autobiographies - *published* autobiographies - must come into and be sustained in being as a result of demand. An autobiography may be written simply because an author wants to write it but it will not be published, it will not be read and it will not stay in print nor even stay shelved in libraries unless *others* want it to be so. Thus, the autobiography may be an 'ego-document' but (borrowing Freud's own metaphors and language) it does to some extent require the id of the publishing trade and the super-ego of the public to exist. No one is an island and no autobiography is not a circular collaborative effort with demand contributing to shaping supply.

/2/ What are we to make of autobiographies which deliberately employ what may be called 'mythical constructs' - the tapping into of supposedly deep layers of cultural meaning, symbolism and language? In other words what is to be done with those autobiographies which are not simply necessarily contrived in Steedman's sense but which delight in being so?

This is a point best illustrated by example. Consider this brief extract from the autobiographical essay "Dreams From an Ordinary Childhood" by Valerie Walkerdine [b 1947].

There are many versions of the press photograph accompanying this text among our family snapshots.....It shows a little girl dressed as a bluebell fairy [this is of course the young Walkerdine herself].....She smiles hesitantlyIn whose vision was I created to look like this.....Like all the fairy fantasies rolled into one?²⁴.

This is typical and the rest of the essay is no less contrived in the points it makes and the language it uses. Much of the rest of the book *Truth, Dare or Promise* is the same.

For some this may be profound autobiographical soul searching. For my own part it is an over written passage by an academic and writer who is determined that we should all know she is an academic and writer. The groping after deep meaning in the relatively simple fact of having once been entered into a fancy dress competition (which she won - hence the press photographs!) expressed in over wrought terms invoking mythical images of fairies and their cultural significance is simply too much. Suffice it to say that while some may choose to couch their autobiographies in such terms and while others may derive benefit from reading

such works I have been pleased throughout the course of this thesis to have worked with autobiographies which are generally no more contrived than they need to be. Why was Walkerdine made over in the image of a fairy? Might the answer not as easily be 'because there were several yards of appropriate curtain material going spare' as anything 'deeper'? Roos concurs - "I find little interest in confessedly fictive or contrived or imaginary autobiographies". And his mention of "confessedly fictive autobiographies" moves us neatly to the third and final of these points for discussion.

/3/ Where is the line between autobiography and fiction?

In common with Roos I have had little time in this thesis for the kind of hard autobiographical case likely to make bad law. It is true that some have tried to argue for a possible and even necessary blurring of the dividing line[s] between autobiography and fiction but no such work plays any part here. On one level the creation of fictional autobiographies can be acceptable so long as they are understood as nothing more than works of literary conceit. Thus Harlan Lane's *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf*²⁵ has a conventional historical narrative of some aspects of the experience of being deaf since the eighteenth century but (in the first half of the book) is also an invented autobiography of Laurent Clerc, an early advocate of deaf education, an autobiography which Clerc carelessly omitted to write. Lane says that he has "dared to speak in Clerc's name in order to present the views of the deaf themselves as clearly and cogently as possible"²⁶ and this is all well and good but - to repeat - only so long as it remains an acknowledged literary conceit and is not imagined to herald a new day through the creation of a new prose genre or a new historical method. Both Truman Capote (in the Non-Fiction Novel) and Tom Wolfe (in the New Journalism) have argued for just such breakthroughs but in truth while both these distinctive talents have produced fascinating works few - if any - other writers

have been successful in following them. (Indeed Capote himself was in later years, in an effort to revive a flagging reputation, reduced to plagiarising himself by producing a sub-standard sequel to his classic *In Cold Blood* and Wolfe has given up the New Journalism in favour of the Old Novel as his preferred medium.) In truth, where new genres of writing and historical methods do emerge it is only over considerable periods of time, never by the fiat of one or even a few author[s]/researcher[s] and the time of the fictional autobiography has surely not come - if it ever will.

But still the question may boomerang back to hit us from behind - isn't there something essentially fictional about an autobiography? Isn't even the most seemingly naive work a highly calculated creative effort? Isn't even the most seemingly naive work necessarily a *representation* and isn't representation another word for fiction?

As is well known, the boomerang which returns hasn't been thrown properly and thus hasn't worked but if this question keeps on coming back it may not be because previous answers have been insufficient, inappropriate, incorrect or wide of the mark but because it is far easier to pose such a question than to answer it. How does one show that a thing is not so? Bishop Berkeley famously said that everything is what it is and nothing else and more recently Iris Murdoch has contended, in an especially ringing phrase, that there are certain sorts of questions which no one "who has not been corrupted by philosophy" never even thinks to ask. But while these are both serious points in their own ways they may smack a little too much of a desire to shut down argument and thus perhaps ought to be left aside for present purposes. What we can say here is this: the meta-scholar (literally the student of the after-thought) may be moved to such speculation because he/she spends much time (perhaps too much time) in the company of autobiographies (such as that of Valerie Walkerdine quoted above) written by

those well versed in the writing and reading of literature and the writing and reading of literary theory. The vast majority of autobiographical texts are of the sort on which Roos is content to dwell, they simply do not read in such a way as to suggest that they are anything but honest efforts to tell the truth. Truth may be beauty and beauty truth but perhaps the less beautiful an autobiographical work is as a piece of literature the more easily it can be accepted as truth - as distinct to fiction. Further, even if an autobiographer has chosen to (re-)present him/her self in terms which are self-fictionalising (most likely as the hero of his/her life, to borrow a phrase from Dickens and the title of a book by Linda Gordon), if we understand the dominant fictions of the autobiographer's 'day' then we have the means of identifying them in his/her writing[s]. Thus, as much as anything, the use of conventional literary forms (ie forms in fashion at the time of writing) in 'plot', metaphor and so on may actually help to authenticate an autobiography rather than casting it into doubt. When, as does often happen, an autobiographer reveals the myths, metaphors and fictions by which he/she lived (to borrow another phrase) a text may quite usefully be dated and this added extra certainty is far more likely to be far more useful than the counsel of despair which dwells on the fictional nature of the text.

Thus it is that armed with a common sense epistemology, disinclined to pay much attention to overly contrived autobiographies (few if any examples of which are relevant here anyway) that I proceed and I am of course always mindful of the words of Orwell - ever a repository of the best of sense - who in his (1944) essay "Benefit of Clergy" contended that "Autobiography is only ever to be trusted when it reveals something disgraceful....since any life viewed from the inside is simply a series of defeats". This may be a little pessimistic but as the study of female school experience in Scotland in the period 1872 to 1945 is largely a story of defeats (though not an unmitigated story) it is a useful maxim.

Reading an autobiography or diary or listening to some oral testimony with imagination certainly is somewhat like reading a novel in that the reader constantly applies the same tests of plausibility to each. However, it may be argued that novels themselves add little more than period colour to our understanding of the past in which they were written, but this is not so. It is true that "Novels have little to add to the history of diplomacy, politics or the actions of the powerful" but they can be invaluable in studying "the history of attitudes, responses and values"²⁷. Detailed work in areas of social history which might otherwise remain occulted and arcane such as internal family dynamics and inter-personal relations can be undertaken by those prepared to take fiction seriously as a source. Thus, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* or *Sunset Song* or any of the other more or less autobiographical sources cited below can be treated as elements in the historical records of the times and places which they depict. If we are to survey the experience of schooling between 1872 and 1945, the attitudes and responses of girls to their schools, the value they placed on their lives and learning there and the values they learned from those lives, we must embrace selected autobiographical novels as sources.

I turn now to the perennial question of why (or whether) Scottish schools have been historically distinctive. This I shall call the issue of 'Scottish educational particularism'. Put simply, the idea of Scottish educational particularism is that education has always been valued more highly in Scotland than is common elsewhere. The idea of educational particularism steers a middle course between the two polemical positions of claiming that Scotland has a unique *tradition* of educational excellence and a culture which values and respects education and denouncing the claim that there ever was a tradition as a *myth*. In one of the most recent discussions of the idea of Scottish educational particularism, it is summarised as comprising of a belief in a school system popularly though to have sprung "fully armed from the head of John Knox" which is credited with having

long been "democratic and egalitarian" and full of "opportunities to advance through sheer native wit and solid hard work, irrespective of social status or wealth"²⁸. Neither the methods proposed above nor any other can show that it was ever thus, nor can they definitively refute such claims. For some historians it is a self evident fact that Scottish educational particularism is no more than a comforting national myth. For others (though this position is more often a popular than an academic stance) it is equally self evident that it is a fully fledged historical truth and if it has ceased to be the case, it is only because traditions enshrined in the 1872 Act have gradually been eroded. (In its populist form this discourse tends to emphasise this erosion as a recent phenomenon and in its most politicised form the erosion is marked out as almost entirely a product of Conservative administrations of the 1980s and 1990s.) A more subtle argument may be one which accepts that there may have been something unique about the pre-1872 system but claims that these unique or particular traits were attacked rather than preserved by the 1872 Act²⁹.

The Scotland in which Patrick Geddes saw "the [whole] Town [of Edinburgh]...out; the working people in their thousands and tens of thousands"²⁴ for the funeral of a professor of Greek, John Stuart Blackie [1809-1895] may be and may always have been a country of the imagination. However, where close study of the population statistics for late nineteenth century Edinburgh and detailed examination of newspaper reports might confirm or dispute the figures Geddes gives, only personal narratives can illuminate the experience of seeing Blackie's funeral for those who did - however many or few they may have been. Only testing the humanity of such narratives could suggest whether or not Geddes was correct to imagine that it was love of learning (rather than, say, love of a spectacle) which brought out the crowd. Equally then, examining personal narratives of girls educated in Scotland in the period 1872 to 1945 will not answer the question 'is there an authentic tradition of Scottish educational

particularism?' nor will it answer the question 'were girls included in or excluded from that tradition (if it existed)?'. What the personal narrative technique *will* do however is answer questions of the form 'did girls *consider* that there was such a tradition and that they were part of it?'. That may be as close to a definitive answer as it is possible to come in this matter.

This is not to argue that there is a superior knowledge to be had from studying personal narratives but to contend that histories which ignore personal narratives will get us so far and no further. The need for personal narrative is increasingly acknowledged, Elton's objection notwithstanding, in both popular and academic works on childhood and education³⁰. Thus, sociological and demographic approaches to history may tell us that girls were less likely to succeed and chalk up academic achievements in Scotland's schools in the period 1872 to 1945 (though as we shall see even this is not necessarily the case) and bureaucratic history may tell us within what structures they had their successes or failures, but only personal narratives take us beyond the simple tale of opportunities lost and alert us to the diverse stories of individual lives in which opportunities were also refused or declined.

Thus, a Scottish woman such as Janet Stewart [b 1904] might record that:

*My parents had no expectations of what I
could achieve.....I myself had no idea what I
could do with my life*³¹.

But when her near contemporary Jean Rennie [b 1906] took up her first job, as a kitchen maid in a large house on an estate near her native Glasgow, she found that "Mother wasn't happy.....'I wanted you to get an education' - her voice was faltering and weak - and tired of the struggle"³². As a matter of sociological abstraction these women might be expected to have had the same experience. Statistically both would show up as having had elementary educations and no more and yet there is clearly a crucial difference in their experiences which can

only be known by inspecting their personal narratives (the former recorded in an oral history interview and the latter in an autobiography). Another near contemporary of both, Jenny Lee [b 1904] (later one of those behind the founding of the Open University) had much the same working class background but tells us in her autobiography that as her fifteenth birthday approached:

I had quite definitely decided that I did not want to leave school. That was awkward for my parents. They were willing....but fearful about the expenses they could not meet[However,] Mother was determined that I should go on. Blindly determined³³.

Ethel Hay [b 1914 in Dundee] seems to have had very unhappy and poor childhood and school experiences which left her with "no ambitions" because she was "so cowed down"³⁴. Emily Hagues [b 1916] was, by contrast, quite content in both her childhood and schooling but still asserts that she chose to leave school and enter domestic service as soon as she was able³⁵. Mary MacLennan's family could only afford to educate one daughter of three and it was on Mary that the chance to stay beyond the legal minimum fell, but this she describes resentfully as being "pushed into being semi-educated"³⁶. The subtle variations of experiences between the woman for whom the decision was made that she should have no education beyond the legal minimum, the woman who refused further study against her mother's will, the woman who had her parents' backing for her ambitions and the woman required to satisfy her parents' vicarious expectations despite personal unwillingness to do so is lost in any approach which ignores personal narratives. These variations of experience which sociological or bureaucratic histories cannot usually expose come to light here with a depth of detail which marks out such stories as essentially human. It is in identifying as many such narratives as possible, unpacking their details and testing their

humanity that we will truly tell the story of the female experience of schooling in Scotland between 1872 and 1945.

NOTES

[1] Lewis Grassie Gibbon *The 13th Disciple* (Edinburgh: B & W Publishing, 1931/1995) p 14.

[2] G R Elton "What is Political History Today?" in Juliet Gardiner [ed] *What is History Today?* (London: Macmillan/*History Today*, 1988) p 21; see also Elton's *The Practice of History* (London: Wm Collins, 1967/1969) for his argument against social history at greater length.

[3] D J Withrington "What is and What Might Be: Some Reflections on the Writing of Scottish Educational History" *Scottish Educational Studies* vol II no 2 1970.

[4] See various of the essays in Walter M Humes and Hamish M Paterson [eds] *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education: 1800-1980* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983), details of several of which follow below.

[5] Walter M Humes "Science, Religion and Education: A Study in Cultural Interaction" in idem et Paterson [eds] op cit p 136 note [91].

[6] Ibid p 132.

[7] Jonathan Rose "Willingly to School: The Working-Class Response to Elementary Education in Britain, 1875-1918" *Journal of British Studies* vol 32 no 1 April 1993 p 114.

[8] Paul Thompson *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978/1988) p 104.

[9] Jean Faley *Up Oor Close: Memories of Domestic Life in Glasgow Tenements, 1919-1945* (Glasgow: White Cockade Publishing/Springburn Museum Trust, 1990).

[10] Elizabeth Roberts *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1984).

[11] David A Reeder "Schooling in the City: Educational History and the Urban Variable" *Urban Studies* vol 19 no 1 1992 p 33.

[12] Jane DuPree Begos "The Diaries of Adolescent Girls" *Women's Studies International Forum* vol 10 no 1 1987 p 69.

[13] Ibid p 69.

[14] Mary Jo Maynes "Autobiography and Class Formation in Nineteenth Century Europe: Methodological Considerations" *Social Science History* vol 16 no 3 fall 1992 p 520.

[15] Ibid p 520.

[16] Himani Bannerji "Mothers and Teachers: Gender and Class in Educational Proposals for and by Women in Colonial Bengal" *The Journal of Historical Sociology* vol 5 no 1 1992 p 25.

[17] Liz Stanley and Sue Wise "Method, Methodology and Epistemology in Feminist Research Processes" in Liz Stanley [ed] *Feminist Praxis: Research, Theory and Epistemology in Feminist Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1990) p 41.

By "enquiring feminist eye" in this context I mean something to the following effect:

*study[ing] women's strengths, not
only their victimization.....approach[ing]
women as actors-in-the-world rather
than as objects of other people's actions.
.....[Examining] issues of actual
concern to women.....rather than....[using]
women as a comparison group for issues
of concern to men.*

- Shulamit Reinharz "The Principles of Feminist Research: A Matter of Debate" in Cheris Kramarae and Dale Spender (eds) *The Knowledge Explosion: Generations of Feminist Scholarship* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993) p 426.

(Bearing in mind the large body of primary and secondary material available on male school experiences I have been especially zealous in observing this last injunction.)

[18] Quoted in John Love and Brenda McMullen [eds] *A Salmon for the Schoolhouse: A Nairnshire Parish in the Nineteenth Century from the Diaries of Robert and Elsie Thomas* (Edinburgh: Canongate/European Ethnological Research Centre/National Museums of Scotland, 1994) p 84.

[19] Valerie Sanders *The Private Lives of Victorian Women: Autobiography in Nineteenth Century England* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989) p 52.

[20] J P Roos "The True Life Revisited: Autobiography and Referentiality After the 'Posts'" *Auto/Biography* vol 3 nos 1 & 2 1994.

This *Lives & Works: Auto/Biographical Occasions* special double issue contains a number of articles by other leading practitioners in the field of literary and historical autobiographical study and thus could be considered to be a more or less definitive guide to the 'state of play' in this field of research. The piece by Roos (the first in the volume though not necessarily the 'key note' as its tone differs markedly to many of the other articles) may represent the only appeal to authority that this thesis can offer in its handling of autobiographical sources. Certainly, researchers in the field of autobiography who, like Roos, seek to

suggest that "treat[ing]...autobiographies as essentially reality- and truth-oriented narratives" which can be assumed to "just tell the truth and nothing but the truth" unless they can be shown to be otherwise by conventional 'fact checking' seem currently to be in the minority - *ibid* pp 1 [abstract] & 11 & 10.

[21] Carolyn Steedman *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1931* (London: Virago, 1990).

[22] *Ibid* pp 244-245

[23] *Ibid* pp 246-247

[24] Valerie Walkerdine "Dreams of an Ordinary Childhood" in Liz Heron [ed] *Truth, Dare or Promise: Girls Growing-Up in the Fifties* (London: Virago, 1985) p 66.

[25] Harlan Lane *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf* (new York: Random House, 1984).

[26] *Ibid* Foreword p xvi.

[27] Patricia Otto Klaus "Women in the Mirror: Using Novels to Study Victorian Women" in Barbara Kanner [ed] *The Women of England from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present* (London: Mansell, 1980) p 309; for a longer discussion of the use of novels as historical sources see also R Binion "Fiction as Social Fantasy: Europe's Domestic Crisis of 1879-1914!" *Journal of Social History* vol 27 no 4 summer 1994.

[28] Grant and Humes *op cit* p 358-359.

[29] I detect the suggestion of this in both Robert Anderson "In Search of the 'Lad of Parts': The Mythical History of Scottish Education" *History Workshop Journal* vol 19 1985 and Hamish M Paterson "Incubus and Ideology: The Development of Secondary Schooling in Scotland, 1900-1939" in *idem et Humes* [eds] *op cit*, though the possibility that the 1872 Act marked a change for the worse in destroying whatever was good in Scottish schooling rather than a change for the better by institutionalising what was good is not a theme which I shall discuss in any detail here as it lies outwith my scope.

[30] Patrick Geddes "The Scots Renaissance" *The Evergreen* spring 1895 reprinted in *The Edinburgh Review* no 88 summer 1992 p 17.

Blackie prided himself on being from the lad o' pairts tradition once writing in a poem "my father filched no dignity by fawning on a crown" and thus asserting that all his family had they had earned by intellectual effort.

[31] At the popular end of the spectrum of collections of personal narratives of schools, schooling and childhood stands Tim Devlin and Hywell Williams [eds] *Old School Ties* (London; Sinclair Stevenson, 1992); at the academic end there is

John Burnett [ed] *Destiny Obscure: Autobiographies of Childhood, Education and Family from the 1820s to the 1920s* (London: Penguin Books, 1982) and somewhere in between there is Patricia Craig [ed] *The Oxford Book of Schooldays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[32] Janet Stewart quoted in Vivien Devlin [ed] *Motherhood from the 1920s to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1995) p 15.

[33] Jean Rennie *Every Other Sunday: The Autobiography of a Kitchenmaid* (London: Arthur Baker, 1955) p 15.

[34] Jennie Lee *To-Morrow is a New Day* (London: The Cresset Press, 1939) pp 55-56.

[35] Ethel Hay in Devlin [ed] op cit pp 19-29.

[36] Emily Hagues in ibid p 22.

[37] Mary MacLennan in Ibid p 16.

In this chapter I shall outline a general, framework history of Scottish education between 1872 and 1945. However, following the poet Stevie Smith ("Girls! Although I am a woman/I always try to appear human") I shall not confine myself to some notional set of changes, developments, facts or considerations constituting the ambit of female education history. Rather, I shall discuss the principal systemic developments and changes in Scottish education between 1872 and 1945 as they concerned children in general and girls in particular to provide background for a non-specialist audience. Specific female experiences are covered in greater detail in subsequent chapters. I shall however conclude this chapter with a discussion of possible models for the relationship between social change[s] relevant to women in that period and educational change[s].

The period in question can be divided into two sections though these are not chronological halves. The first runs from 1872 and the Education (Scotland) Act of that year to the Act of 1918¹ and the second from then till the Act of 1945². Of the seventeen other Acts passed between 1872 and 1945 concerning schooling in Scotland I shall say nothing. Though of seminal importance, the Act of 1872 was not brought into being without difficulty. By 1864 there was widespread agreement both within and outwith parliament³ that the pattern of leaving the Church of Scotland and other religious groups more or less of a free hand to administer basic education and relying on the larger burghs and some other groups administering ancient endowments to provide for more advanced studies was inadequate. Thus a Royal Commission under George Douglas, 8th Duke of Argyll, made the first recommendations for a truly unified national system. What emerged from the process begun by the Argyll Commission was a system under which parochial school boards would run schools paid for from a combination of rates levied locally, parliamentary grants and fees charged of the parents of school children. A number of legislative false starts ensued and a series of proposed bills

failed to find parliamentary time (one was shelved by Gladstone to make way for a bill on the retirement of English bishops⁴). However, a sufficiently broad coalition of forces had agreed that change was in order and that this could not be delayed indefinitely.

What was the state of the parochial schools on the eve of transition? Administered in the main by the Church of Scotland, these were the schools in which most children had such formal education as they were able to get and have often been invoked nostalgically by those searching for a 'golden age' in Scotland's educational past. A description of their conditions is contained, or at least implied, in the anonymous *Practical Essay on the Manner of Studying and Teaching in Scotland* of 1823.

If any one.....[should] wish to be a successful teacher, he will have little inducement to attempt improvement, when he is opposed, at every step, by his own inexperience, the want of judicious advice, the prejudices of parents, the awkwardness of boys, [and] their irregular attendance..[;] the time that a teacher can bestow on each pupil is.....[short; in] summer he can give only twelve minutes a day to each boy; in winter five.....[and] a great deal of time is lost in keeping order, in flogging, [and] scolding.⁵

Along with such works as the *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional Schools* of 1826⁶, the *Practical Essay* may be as good a guide to the state of the parochial schools as we have. Written by a teacher for the benefit of teachers it could afford to be candid. Its author knew the true state of affairs and knew that his audience knew it too. Lacking national direction, education was only as good as it was made by those who dispensed it.

It had always been the expressed intention of the Church of Scotland to have schools as breeding grounds for new ministers and others capable of reading the

Word. Thus it was that the document by which the Reformation church in Scotland first defined its beliefs and its mission on earth, the *Book of Discipline*, insisted "Seeing that God determined that His Church here on earth shall be taught not by angels but by men....it is necessary [to]...be most careful for the virtuous education and upbringing of the youth of this realm"⁷. But the Protestant commitment to establishing a personal relationship with God through reading and understanding His Word has been recognised as a potentially liberating force for European women. "The concept of spiritual equality and the conviction that all individuals had access to God encouraged independence of mind. Protestantism allowed both girls and boys to read the Bible so that women and men could work for their own salvation."⁸ The supply of ministers was important but the provision of schools was intended to make every confessing Christian Scot at least capable of being a lay reader. However the grand vision of a well financed nation-wide network of schools to achieve this end had never been realised. Even though James VI and I, Charles I and William III had all made some provision for national systems⁹ there was still nothing of the sort in operation by the latter half of the nineteenth century. Thus there was certainly more than a little complacency in the Argyll Commission's confident boast of 1864 that "[Education] has long been the glory of this country and the wonder and envy of other countries"¹⁰. There was certainly a great expansion in *learning* in the eighteenth century especially in and around the universities. As Donnachie and Hewitt remark:

Education - in a variety of forms - was a growth industry during the eighteenth century, reflecting modernization in general and the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment in particular.

However, they continue this discussion by saying, the general schooling of children had not kept pace with these changes "In Glasgow as late as 1867 about half the children aged five to ten did not attend school at all"¹¹.

More recent figures suggest that enrolment for elementary education in Scotland between 1870 and 1875 (the Act was not fully 'up and running' nor its provisions fully felt until 1876), as measured by a ratio between an assumed proportion of school age children in any given society and the numbers known to have been enrolled in schools, was roughly a third of that in Canada and the USA, a half of that in France and New Zealand and not much more than a half of that in England¹². The 1872 Act was to rectify these deficiencies by ensuring that there would be a Scotch Education Department [SED - Scottish Education Department after 1918] which would supervise the provision of mandatory schooling for all children between the ages of five and thirteen [Act of 1872, section 69]. Boards elected locally every three years would administer schools [sections 12 & 13]. Funding would come from rates and taxes [section 67]. Fees might be charged to supplement costs [section 53] but assistance was to be provided for those parents who could not meet these fees [section 69]. The religious character of schools under each board was to remain a matter for that board itself to decide. Schooling to the age of thirteen was as much as most children could expect with, this taking place in an elementary school which was not generally intended as a preparation for further schooling but most often as an end in itself. 'Elementary' thus described not only the quantity of schooling but its quality. As a result, a technical distinction exists between present day primary schools and the elementaries of the past. The former exist to prepare all children for continuation to secondary education while the latter did not operate on such a plan. I shall however refer to all schools for younger children between 1872 and 1945 as elementaries to avoid confusion in terminology.

Michael Fry tells us that "The 1872 Act proved a success"¹³ and this is generally true but it is too sanguine an account to do justice to the widespread and vociferous opposition which the Act provoked in its early years - "most Victorian Scots were far from happy about what emerged in 1872 and the decade or so

after"¹⁴. Thus, for example, writing only as 'A Member of a School Board' an 1878 pamphleteer repeated the concern of the Duke of Richmond and Gordon that the general effect of the 1872 Act and that of 1878 [41 & 42 VICT c78] by which it was consolidated had been one of Anglicising Scotland's schools. The new SED was, both the Duke and the Member thought, no more than "a room in Whitehall, with the word 'Scotland' painted over the door"¹⁵. Meanwhile John Black, the professor of Humanity at the University of Aberdeen, was concerned that first making schooling compulsory then allowing boards to charge fees was pernicious. The effect was, he argued, that some parents would be driven "into the slough of pauperism" in their attempts to do as the law demanded of them¹⁶. The requirement that parents should pay for any part of their children's time at a state elementary school ended formally in 1894 and Black's predictions on that score do not seem to have been borne out. Where fees remained for schooling beyond the elementary level they were generally low¹⁷, and by 1918 it was established that no child should "be debarred...[by] reason of the expense involved" from participating fully in any formal education short of university [Act of 1918, section 4]. In 1906, the then head of the SED Henry Craik was even moved to write to *The Scotsman* to make it clear that the continued practice of children bringing peats for the fires of highland schools was "purely voluntary...and the continuance of an old custom"¹⁸. I shall develop the particular significance of payment for schooling and parents' budgetary and rationing decisions in a subsequent chapter but for present purposes it is sufficient to note that mass penury does not seem to have resulted from parents contributing financially to the costs of their children's schooling and this criticism of the post 1872 system quietly died as the system became more and more deeply rooted.

By contrast however, accusations of creeping Anglicisation were never to go away. Such fears originated even before the Act of 1872 was on the statute books, beginning at the moment George Young took over as Lord Advocate and

thus assumed responsibility for the task of piloting a Scottish education Act through parliament from James Moncreiff. (Moncreiff finally retired as Lord Advocate apparently disgusted at the lack of movement in this area of his responsibility.) Young is known to have been "Autocratic in temperament" and possessed of "centralising enthusiasms", including a desire to see the subordination of Scots law to English and an end to the Court of Session¹⁹. He it was who insisted that the administration of the post 1872 system should be in the hands of the Privy Council and based in London (though the Board of Education for Scotland which handled transitional arrangements from 1872 to 1878 was based in Edinburgh)²⁰. And this has been described as having an early Anglicising effect which was not countered till administration of the system passed to the Scottish Office in 1885²¹.

However, largely through the determination of Henry Craik and John Struthers, the first Scottish Office officials to Act as Permanent Secretaries to the SED, fears of further Anglicisation were to prove largely groundless in practice. Craik and Struthers have been described respectively as "an independent and fearless advocate of whatever he believed in" and "a man of long vision, clear views, and unwearied patience"²². If even half true, these descriptions mark them out as a formidable pair. Craik in particular set himself to engineer a purely Scottish system, one which kept aloof from English concerns and practices. This is perhaps not entirely surprising given that he was later the author of a two volume history of Scotland which he rounds off by saying:

*much of the stress which....[Scotland] has had to endure....[is] the inheritance of her own stormy history, [but] it...[is] also, in no small degree, the result of heedless injustice, the careless apathy and the purblind neglect of successive English governments.*²³

It is with some justice that James Bowen, in what is surely the most comprehensive general history of European education currently available, distinguishes between education in Scotland and the situation in what he calls "England's occupied territories" - Ireland and Wales²⁴. Craik was ever the conservative Unionist (in time he would swap the subordinate [?] role of the bureaucrat for the greater [?] power of the politician and sit as Conservative Member of Parliament for the Scottish Universities) and his Walter-Scottish romantic patriotism was certainly not active separatist nationalism, but he did prove willing and able to establish and maintain a system which was distinctive if nothing else.

For our purposes, the principal respect in which Scotland might have been but never was Anglicised is the matter of publicly financed single sex schools. Generally there is not and has never been a tradition of single sex schools in Scotland. By 1995 Notre Dame school in Glasgow (an erstwhile convent school) was the only single sex school in Strathclyde Region, then the largest provider of schooling in Scotland. The basic elementary schools which housed most pupils between the Reformation and 1872 seem generally to have been mixed though rarely, if ever, in equal proportions - boys having always been in the majority²⁵. When the Church of Scotland handed over its stock of schools in 1872 it did have eighty-seven all female elementary schools on its books (and at Eisdale school in Edinburgh it retained a school for ministers' daughters till after 1945), and although it asserted its belief in "the growth and unquestionable popularity of this department of the [Education] Committee's work"²⁶, the legacy of these schools was not to be carried forward. Instead, while Argyll's Commission favoured the separation of girls and boys, it was not dogmatic that this should mean separate schools as it was sure that girls' schools would inevitably tend to be inferior. The Commission's report concluded that:

the influence of Mixed [sic] schools on boys and girls is not beneficial from the social point of view; but intellectually speaking there is a good reason to recommend such schools. There seems no reason why girls should not have the same educational advantages as boys as they appear to make quite as much of what opportunities they have, and in some branches they are distinctly superior to boys. If they are taught on the same system, and by the same masters, they should have distinct schoolrooms, and be kept separate from the boys, and under their own lady-superintendent.²⁷

And thus was born the Scottish form of gender apartheid of mixed schools built on congruent floor plans, with distinct girls' and boys' halves. (Such arrangements were not unknown in England²⁸ but they were less common and tended to be restricted to elementary schools while schools teaching older children were more often entirely separate and not simply segregated as in Scotland.) However, except in the case of the large burgh grammar schools and academies (where the social organisation accorded well with the neo-classical style in which many were built) this pattern of organisation may have been more honoured in the breach. Amy Stewart Fraser, who attended an elementary school on Strathdee in the 1890s and early 1900s, remembers that her school in Glen Cairn was:

surrounded by a low wall enclosing two playgrounds which were separated by a wall too high too climb..... Girls entered by one door.....boys by a similar [door]from their own side of the wall. That was the extent of the segregation.²⁹

It is however important to note that gender is probably the first axis along which children define themselves, before race, class, religion or nationality³⁰. (This must be the case because while religion and nationality are actually quite difficult intellectual concepts which generally lack immediate visual or other sensory clues and even class can be difficult to grasp without having some life experience, the fact that there are different sexes of person in the world is glaringly obvious. As

sex is the basis of gender - we are of one sex or another biologically thus we are made to be of one gender or another socially and personally - so gender differences are easily appreciated from an early age, a fact which is simply observable in the most casual of ways amongst groups of even quite young children. It may be argued that 'race' - a less than useful concept at the best of times as it collapses ethnic and genetic differences in ridiculously overloaded packets of expected behaviour and knowledge - is every bit as conspicuous as sex/gender but of course the difference of sex/gender which exists in human kind is immediately obvious even in a racially homogeneous society where race only becomes apparent in the racially mixed society. As the child's first society is effectively the home, except in the case of a child having racially mixed parents it is unlikely that he/she will be aware of the existence of distinct racial groups until some time after he/she has noticed that there are different sexes/genders. Even if there is a better case than I have allowed here for the primacy in this respect of race - or its crude indicator 'colour' - gender must be at least *first equal*.)

Sex as a difference between persons having this primacy, many such gender divisions as those described above may have been as closely self-regulated as they were regulated by school authorities³¹. To repeat, children generally have to be told not to mix with those of different classes/nationalities/religions but they do exhibit gender segregating behaviour from an early age though quite why this should be so is outwith the remit of this thesis. Thus it is that, in the very first line of the classic *Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* we are given the image of: "boys [who], as they talked to the girls from Marcia Blaine School, stood on the far side of their bicycles....[making] a protective fence"³².

Meanwhile, despite having been given a considerable degree of control over Ireland's school system, Catholics in Scotland found themselves unable to accept inclusion of their schools in the 'nationalisation' of 1872 because "they had no

hope of a majority on any parish board and so could not institute their own religious instruction"³³; they thus continued to operate their own schools. Only the Act of 1918 which marks the end of the first nominal phase in the history of Scottish school education 1872 to 1945 rectified the anomaly of their exclusion. Despite some controversy over its doing so, the British state had been financing schools in Ireland run by Catholics, for Catholics from the middle of the nineteenth century³⁴. But this was not the norm throughout the empire at the time. New Zealand, for example, made no compromise with Catholic aspirations for a distinctively Catholic education for the children of Catholic parents in its Act of 1872³⁵. Catholics there as in Scotland could send their children to the same schools as everyone else or they could finance their own but they could not expect to receive ratepayers' money if they took the latter course. As it was, the 'conscience clause' [section 68] provided in Scotland's 1872 Act ("Every public school....shall be open to children of all denominations, and any child may be withdrawn by his parents from any instruction in religious subjects") offered only a negative protection and could not positively provide for a recognisably Catholic schooling for Catholic children. However, by at least 1910 views amongst Protestant Scots seem to have changed sufficiently to allow a limited thaw in the frost of relations and, by 1918, there was a wholesale melting of erstwhile 'cold war' positions. Thus, in 1910 we hear of the chairman of the Glasgow school board calling for "the handing over of the education of [Catholic]....children to the public education authority" for which "a catholic [sic] member thanked [him]" noting that the chairman was the "first Protestant [he had heard] to propose [this]"³⁶. By 1917 *The Glasgow Herald* was making a national issue of the effective exclusion of Catholic children from state and local finance. "One would think that Catholics might expect in Presbyterian Scotland more generous treatment than in Anglican England"³⁷. The historical logic that both Catholics and Presbyterians had been ill treated by Anglicans/Episcopalians in the seventeenth century and thus ought to show mutual generosity was rather

tortured but endorsement of Catholic integration from such a loyally Conservative, Unionist and Presbyterian quarter as *The Herald* indicates how fully belief in the legitimacy of Catholic demands had entered the mainstream of political thought at the time.

Before 1918 Catholic "voluntary" schools had been able to receive state grants but not rate payers' money, making them rather more 'Rome on the taxes' than 'Rome on the rates'. As "transferred" schools they came fully under the administrative auspices of the education authorities which now replaced the old boards [section 12 of the 1918 Act] as had been the case in England since 1902³⁸. However they were to have a special status which would allow clerical oversight of staff and pupils alike by virtue of the new requirement that "regard" be paid to the religious beliefs of parents of children in the erstwhile voluntary schools as to the future administration of those schools [sections 2 & 18].

Needless to say there was opposition from those taking the hardest of Protestant lines. The General Assembly of the Free Kirk (which, like the Church of Scotland, had handed over its schools in 1872) heard a report at its 1918 sitting in which its education committee made it clear that they "view[ed] with disfavour the privilege conferred on Voluntary Schools [sic] of vetoing appointments of teachers to these schools"³⁹. There were other voluntary schools transferred in the wake of the 1918 Act⁴⁰ but given that the Free Kirk was (then as now) praying fervently for the downfall of the 'Evil Man of Rome' it is undeniable the thrust of the remark was directed at the Catholic community. Indeed, in taking this line, the Free Kirk was diverging from a prior bi-partisan stance amongst Scottish Protestant churches *against* making trouble over the new Act⁴¹.

The Act came under criticism from other quarters largely as a result of its proposed raising of the school leaving age to fifteen across the board [section 14].

Some children might be permitted to leave school at thirteen but they were to receive compulsory extension or continuation classes for two more years if they did take the option of leaving at the earliest possible moment [section 15]. Not in the most liberal frame of mind, the Federation of British Industry opposed these plans as likely to make for an over educated, discontented and thus unemployable workforce⁴². Meanwhile some voices in the Catholic community itself were raised in protest at the imagined effect of extension classes on Catholic girls and young women. Following the legislation in England which preceded the Scottish reforms, a Glasgow based Catholic newspaper painted alarmist images of young Catholic mothers obliged to attend extension classes with babes in arms with the clear implication that, if there was indeed a time and a season to every purpose under heaven, the time for formal schooling ended for a Catholic girl when she became a mother⁴³. The arithmetic is a little stretched but it is just possible that a girl who had left school between her fifteenth and sixteenth birthdays and was still attending extension classes two years thereafter might have had time to marry at seventeen, become pregnant and give birth before completing her formal schooling. (Even the official Catholic historian of education in Scotland, Brother Kenneth of the Marist order, has noted that the Catholic press in Scotland did feature as a focus for "alarm...[and] distrust" over the proposed new legislation to a degree and in a way which seems strange in its shrill irrationality⁴⁴.)

Yet further protest came from the Labour Party for whom Tom Johnston argued in his journal *Forward* that the transition from small boards to larger authorities was "simply an attempt to abolish actual or potential Labour democratic representation"⁴⁵ in matters of local education policy. Ironically the fears from within the Catholic church proved groundless as extension classes fell prey to the package of austerity measures known as the Geddes Axe introduced by Chancellor Robert Horne in the depths of the recession of the 1920s⁴⁶. And those of the Labour Party proved equally ill founded as the first round of elections for

the new authorities saw a massive swing in the Catholic vote from candidates put up by the liberal leaning United Irish League to the Labour Party.

In sum then the 1918 Act was a remarkably balanced piece of legislation. It was criticised from the right in the interests of capital. It was criticised from the left in the interests of labour. It was criticised by many Protestants. It was even criticised by some Catholics. After 1918 the system which Craik and Struthers between them had put in place remained relatively unchanged till the end of the Second World War. To the bureaucrat or historian of bureaucrats this may not have seemed to be the case but amongst children themselves it is unlikely any great changes were noticed.

Thus, in conclusion of this first section, we may say that as the parson's egg was 'good in parts', so the Scotch education egg from 1918 certainly must have seemed good right the way through to those who had designed it. In his epic poem "Jerusalem" (not to be confused with the hymn of the same name) Blake says that he must "make a System or be ruled by another man's". Craik, Struthers and their department had made a system and they were not now going to be ruled by any other man's or country's. The ways in which they thought of and experienced the system they had created and the ways in which that system was thought of and experienced by the children whose lives it dominated and determined may have been utterly different but the system built up by 1918 which endured till 1945 does seem to have been largely what the politicians and civil servants behind it wanted it to be. Seventy three years (1872 to 1945) might be an entire human life span. At forty six in 1918 the Scottish national education system was heading comfortably towards middle age and apparently not inclined towards change thereafter.

Equally determined not to be ruled by any system other than their own were the various schools which had not joined in the nationalisations of 1872 and 1918 - the independents and the public schools in Scotland. These comprised a mixture of ancient endowed schools and newer establishments modelled quite explicitly on the English public schools. These latter in particular pursued a very different course to the state financed and locally administered board or education authority schools throughout the period 1872 to 1945. (Note also that just as there was a British Indian Army and a British Army in India and the two were quite distinct, so the public schools in Scotland are not to be confused with the Scottish public schools. The former label attaches to a handful of exclusive institutions, the latter to the general run of Scottish schools as defined by the Act of 1872 [section 1].)

Reminiscing about his time at Glenalmond not long after the Second World War, journalist and historian Allan Massie says that it and the other public schools in Scotland, "Fettes, Loretto....[and] Merchiston - were not an indigenous growth. They were planted, like colonies. But they took root"⁴⁷. He might also have added Edinburgh Academy, Gordonstoun and, most importantly for our purposes, St Leonard's and St George's schools for girls to his list. In a subsequent chapter I shall discuss not only the female experience of education in such schools but their general contribution to the changed and changing position of all women in Scottish society from the 1870s to the 1940s and beyond. For present purposes however it is vital to understand certain aspects of the nature and operation of these schools. While Massie is surely correct to liken the public schools in Scotland to colonial outposts, how well rooted were they ever to become? Critical rhetoric on the subject of their English bias has certainly never been wanting. A former pupil of Edinburgh Academy in the immediate pre war years has spoken scathingly of:

The masters who had been born Scottish

*[but] were, by education, brain-washing and ultimately inclination, as English as the English. It was a symbol of [their].....attitude....that the ultimate academic goal was not the Scottish Higher Leaving Certificate but the Oxford and Cambridge 'A' Level Examinations*⁴⁸.

And in what is surely one of the most sharply observed commentaries on Scottish schools and schooling in the pre war independent sector, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, these same teachers are described as "supercilious Englishmen, 'or near Englishmen'.....'with third-rate degrees'"⁴⁹. Thus Massie may seem to be passing a rather partial judgement but no matter whether he is correct or not we must say something about this alternative system of provision, still always distinguishing clearly between the public schools in Scotland and the other schools which made up that alternative system.

Those schools which were independent of elected local and national control after 1872 but which do not belong to the category of public schools in Scotland (schools which I shall hereafter call 'the independents') were largely of ancient origin with identities which they sought to protect by remaining outside the post 1872 establishment. In the main funded by charitable endowments, the independents, such as those provided by and named after George Heriot and Mary Erskine, did not stand quite as aloof from the rest of the country and its education system as the public schools in Scotland. The origins of the independents were often not primarily as places of education but as hospitals "with [the] objectives of helping orphans or the children of bankrupted merchants"⁵⁰. Only gradually in the latter part of the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth were these schools to move towards conforming to the pattern of claiming to be centres of excellence and certainly being strongholds of privilege along the lines of both the public schools in Scotland and those of England. That there would be this transformation on the part of the independents was perhaps

presaged in 1872 when the Royal Commission on the state of endowed hospitals interviewed a senior administrator at George Heriot's. Asked if he had "any proposals to make in the event of [a future] remodelling of the institution?" He replied:

*I think we might...admit into the institution
a number of boys.....who belong to the class
that George Heriot intended....to benefit.....
by competitive examination.....I am very much
in favour of a fee being charged.*

Asked quite what class he had in mind, he replied "the burgess class"⁵¹. In other words, what had primarily been charitable institutions were increasingly to become selective primarily on grounds of ability to pay. As the national system was widening its scope and taking more pupils to higher degrees of learning, the independents were narrowing their focus and "it was freely admitted in the early 1880s that the fees charged at a.....school like Edinburgh High School were beyond the resources of a working-class parent"⁵². However, there remained a degree of homogeneity between the independents and the national system so that "There was no social gulf of the kind which cut off the Public Schools in England, but rather a hierarchical continuum regulated by fees"⁵³. State controlled and independent schools in Scotland continued to drift apart through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but except in the case of the public schools in Scotland (which started out different in being built along explicitly English lines and only became more so) this drift was less marked in female schooling than male.

This is demonstrated by the 1919 semi-official publication *Problems of National Education by Twelve Scottish Educationalists* ('semi-official' in that it had a foreword by Secretary of State for Scotland, Robert Munro, implying a high degree of official approval). Using this we can compare several quite specific

recommendations on provision for girls in state directed elementary schools and independent secondary schools - the two poles furthest apart in all of Scottish education. Thus, writing of "The Interests of Girls in Elementary and Continuation Schools", Elizabeth Fish has it that:

*every school should have at least one well lit
comfortable classroom equipped [as a library]
.....and with a good supply of works of reference
always at hand.*⁵⁴

This differs little from the insistence of independent school headmistress Charlotte E Ainslie that "Books of reference, suitably housed [in a library presumably], should be provided in all secondary schools and [there should be] lighter books for recreation"⁵⁵. Fish tells us that girls should emerge from the elementary school with: "Physical drill.....[having] strengthened their muscles and given ease and grace to their movements"⁵⁶. Ainslie has it that: "The importance of physical culture is generally admitted, and needs no emphasis here"⁵⁷. Where Fish is demure about sex, venereal disease and pregnancy ("All girls....should have lessons in physiology and hygiene, for the health of the nation lies very largely in the hands in women"⁵⁸) it is clear in context to what she refers. Ainslie is less coy ("changing social conditions have rendered instruction in certain elementary facts necessary as a means of protecting girls and young women from dangers incidental to the freer conditions in which they live"⁵⁹) but there is little to choose between the two in their pained acceptance of the twentieth century necessity of biological sex education. More generally, both share markedly similar aesthetic views. So much so in fact that it can be difficult to tell which is which. Compare:

*classrooms should be sunny and spacious.....
It is obvious that matters connected with the
adornment and order of the school are specially
important in the case of girls, many of whom will
in later years become the centres of family life*

with:

One often wishes that the interior of schools was more beautiful....and the windows need not so often exclude the infrequent northern sunbeam.⁶⁰

Practically, between the two poles of the barest elementary and the most elaborate independent secondary education, there were always great differences but it does not seem that on either side of the state/independent divide there was any great formal theory of difference for girls.

This completes the survey or overview of the structure and nature of Scottish school arrangements in their various guises between 1872 and 1945 and gives some indication of the distinctive experience[s] of girls in that/those environment[s]. I proceed next to analyse theoretical models for the understanding of the relationship between education and social change/progress for girls/women in the period. These can be ranked in order of their acceptance of/belief in the proposition that women were generally freer in the 1940s than in the 1870s. In this context, 'free' must be understood to mean in a position to make meaningful, informed choices as to how they would lead their lives and socially and legally enabled to act on those choices. Here I understand progress to entail the liberation of increased possibility of meaningful choice for women resulting from institutional and existential changes. That is to say: progress in liberation is measured as the degree to which a woman might make some real life choice, be able to act on that choice and have her actions accepted by men in law and in fact. The degree of belief in such progress I shall call a model's 'optimism'.

The oldest and perhaps the most straightforward model is one which assumes that there is a direct historic relationship between change in women's lives, where change is tantamount to progress, with this change/progress being evenly distributed throughout all levels of society and coming as a direct result of the

expansion of educational opportunity. This I shall call the liberal, Whiggish model. (I discuss this liberal, Whiggish model in greater detail in chapter four.) Alternatively, it may be allowed that while there has been change and while this change has been progressive and has been in part attributable to increased educational opportunity, it has not been widely or evenly distributed. This I shall call the moderate socialist model. A less optimistic model sees change as progressive and probably less rather than more evenly and widely shared but achieved *despite* rather than because of formal educational structures. This I shall call the extreme socialist model though I might equally call it the moderate feminist model. Two even darker scenarios cast the history of women's lives in the period 1872 to 1945 as regressive rather than progressive. Change there may well have been, but this has not been change for the better. In the more positive of these versions of events, this regression has come about despite the best effort of at least some schools, teachers and educationalists, and in the less positive of the two (which is certainly the least optimistic of all the models outlined here), regressive change is the direct result of the operation of formal educational structures. These I shall call respectively the extreme and most extreme feminist models. (Note that I employ the language of moderation and extremity here with some unease as both are clearly morally loaded words; I do not necessarily pass any censure on extreme thinking or indicate any approval of moderation I simply employ the terms for lack of any better.)

One analysis which must surely be put aside as less than adequate is that of the liberal Whigs. (This is a point which I discuss in greater detail in chapter four.) It assumes that there is an 'onwards ever upwards' history of progress for women in which they have largely been led by a few educational pioneers. The moderate and extreme socialist models contradict this by pointing to class differences which, it is argued, have worked in such a way as to exclude many from the benefits enjoyed by some. The more extreme socialist model casts educational structures

as positively harmful to many of those whose lives they touch. In this case, progress comes only through struggle to produce achievement in the context of systems which aim to limit the progress of all but a very few. Here there is a history of working class female achievement which can match anything of those more lovingly educated at greater expense in schools which actively prepared them to succeed, but the working class achievement is a product of struggle in which formal structures have hindered rather than helped.

This thinking is clearly present in the early work of Steven Humphries, principally in the book *Hooligans or Rebels* which I consider in greater detail in subsequent chapters. Though his work covers all working class children, male and female, and extends beyond the confines of the educational sphere, Humphries has a story to tell (or perhaps one should say, a polemical case to make) which casts formal education as the enemy of working class aspiration. He approaches his subject as an unashamed socialist social historian. This same argument (that there has been progress but it has been limited, hard fought and achieved despite rather than because of the operation of formal structures) can equally be considered a moderate feminist stance. It is moderate in that it does allow there to be reality in claims of progress but feminist in that it asserts the female struggle to have been not contingently but necessarily more difficult than the male. It is possible to be a liberal or a socialist but still primarily a feminist if one accepts that, in the words of the old maxim, 'the opposition are over there, the enemy are behind you'. That is: one who considers that there is at least as significant a struggle to be waged for recognition of women's rights within as between political parties and groupings is a feminist first and a socialist or liberal only second. This perception of the need for internal struggle has often been greatest amongst women in socialist movements where men have often proved to be "deeply conservative [in their] attitude[s] to society and family life"⁶¹. This moderate feminist analysis thus considers many formal educational structures as problematic for women/girls even

if these structures have been established and are run in accord with the most perfect liberal or socialist principles. (Socialist and liberal analyses themselves can cast doubt on the operation of the formal structures put in place and operated by socialists or liberals but only on the grounds that those structures have not lived up to their socialist/liberal principles.) This last variety of feminist analysis contends that even when all is working as liberal or socialist men desire - and even if liberal or socialist feminists are happy - women/girls will continue to be ill served educationally and otherwise because, of their own volition, men - be they ever so principled liberals or socialists, will rarely - if ever - take and pursue the needs of girls/women as seriously as those of other men/boys.

The extreme feminist analyses reject the terms of debate of the models drawn from male politics, whether liberal or socialist, and prefer to concentrate on the fact that change is not necessarily synonymous with progress. Before outlining these in more detail, some explanation of my use of the vexed term 'feminist' is required. Broadly speaking, there are three types of feminism.

Borrowing from a well know revolutionary slogan, ("liberty, equality, fraternity") these can be labelled - liberal feminism, equalitarian (or egalitarian or socialist) feminism and radical or, as I shall prefer to say, sororitarian feminism. The first of these three argues only for the removal of obvious (usually legal) restrictions on female liberty. Given the means, women will make of their lives what they will; let them be allowed to do so. This is the feminism and the liberalism of such as J S Mill. It is essentially the extension of social liberalism into the sphere of gender relations. Socialist/egalitarian/equalitarian feminism (I shall prefer 'socialist feminism') seeks to go further than liberal feminism by positing the need to redress imbalances of wealth (and of the power which attends on wealth) to vitiate the liberties demanded by liberal feminists. In socialist feminist analyses, formal grants of rights are a hollow mockery unless backed up by the opportunity to command

the means to make them meaningful. This too is an extension of general socialist principles to cover women's lives. What I call here 'sorority feminism' comes in many forms (as do liberal and socialist feminism) but it too can be reduced to its essentials. Sorority feminism posits the proposition that existential change is necessary in the way[s] in which men deal with and think of women if any other social change is to be made meaningful. "The....physical subjection of women by men was historically the most basic form of oppression"⁶² it is argued. It is thus also necessary to engineer changes in the way[s] in which women think of themselves and of other women. Central differences in variant forms of sororitarian feminism often revolve around the relative degrees to which the balance of such existential change in thought, attitude and behaviour must be undertaken by men or women and the separate but related question of the degree to which men can be considered able to change; disagreement also exists over the best way[s] in which to achieve feminist goals, particularly in the degree of compromise to make with 'orthodox' (male) politics. Such disagreements and debates lead to its often being taken to be axiomatic that 'there are as many feminisms as there are feminists' (though why, if so, this should be any more the case in feminism than in any other socio-political philosophy is not made clear). At the furthest extreme is the feminism of lesbian separatism which despairs of any re-education of or change in men and thus advocates more or less radical dissociation of women from men. However, laying such internal issues of emphasis and tactics/strategy aside, it is possible to speak of sororitarian feminism as a coherent and discreet philosophy because it alone has no history grounded in male politics.

Thus sororitarian feminist analyses here see little evidence of positive change in male attitudes towards women or of change in the behaviour based on those attitudes. At best, there may have been no real change between 1872 and 1945 and at worse there may have been actual regression as attitudes otherwise

unashamedly on display were driven underground but remained active. At the same time, the shift from the possibility of hard but shared labour and lives (especially in an agricultural context) to the gender separation and female incarceration in domesticity from the 1870s onwards may count as evidence of regression in the overall aggregate of female liberty. In the less extreme/more moderate feminist model I posit here such changes came about despite the best efforts of education systems at national and local level instituted and run by those at least informed by and aware of liberal and/or socialist feminist ideas. In the less moderate analysis, formal education structures are cast as the villains of the peace, actively operating in such a way as to drive women from the public sphere of individual life and liberty to the private *purdah* of domesticity. Here they were to work as hard as ever - perhaps harder - but were now to work for free and in the process they lost certain ancient liberties such that of forming female mutual support networks of family and friendship (these now being disrupted by the isolation of staying largely at home). This has been described as:

*The unquestioned belief that the transition to industrial modernity robbed women of freedom, status and authentic function, [which] underlies most modern women's history.....[or] the conviction that things ain't what they used to be.*⁶³

Specifically in the context of the schooling of Scottish girls in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I detect a strain of this 'regressive thinking' in the work of Helen Corr which I detail at greater length in subsequent chapters and it is certainly present in the recent work of Jane Miller⁶⁴.

What follows is not a thesis which purports to extend the boundaries of feminist thought, rather it is a description and analysis of Scottish female school experiences (or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say *selected aspects* of Scottish female school experiences) in the period 1872 to 1945. The admittedly

simple categorisation and description of feminist philosophy above starts from the assumption that the central feminist project of bringing about institutional and existential change is not only morally necessary but vital but this thesis as a whole is unlikely to play any part in changing the world. In all things, the feminist influenced analysis which follows is more often on the side of caution than on the side of the angels. In other words, in discussing the role of schools in transforming the fact of sex into the destiny of gender I have sought always to pursue a cautious line such that none (except the active anti-feminist who believes that women lead less rich and rewarding lives than men because they deserve and are capable of nothing better) might disagree though many (feminists) may wish to go further than I in their own theses.

NOTES

[1] 35 & 36, Vict, c62 and 8 & 9, Geo 5, c38.

[2] 9 & 10, Geo 6, c72.

[3] Bruce Lenman and John Stocks "The Beginnings of State Education in Scotland, 1872-1885" *Scottish Educational Studies* vol IV no 2 1972 p 93.

[4] Michael Fry *Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987/1991); see also J D Myers "Scottish Nationalism and the Antecedents of the 1872 Education Act" *Scottish Educational Studies* vol IV no 2 1972 & Donald Withrington "Towards a National System, 1867-72, the Last Years in the Struggle for a Scottish Education Act" *Scottish Educational Studies* vol IV no 2 1972.

[5] *A Practical Essay on the Manner of Studying and Teaching in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Macredie, Shelly & Co, 1823) pp 171 & 175.

[6] John Wood *Account of the Edinburgh Sessional Schools and the Other Parochial Institutions Established in that City in the Year 1812* (Edinburgh: John Wardlaw, 1826).

[7] Cuthbert Lennox [ed] *The First Book of Discipline* (London: Andrew Melrose, 1560/1905) p 382.

[8] Bonnie S Anderson and Judith P Zinsser *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988) p 355.

[9] Act of the Privy Council, 1616, James VI and I; Ratification of the Act of Counsall anent Plantatione of Schooles, Charles I c5, 1633; Act for the Founding of Schooles in Everie Paroche, Charles I c45, 1646; Act for Settling of Schools, Wm 3 c54, 1696.

[10] Report of the 'Argyll Commission' quoted in S J Curtis *History of Education in Britain* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1967) p 546.

[11] Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt *A Companion to Scottish History* (B T Batsford, 1989) p 64.

[12] Aaron Benavot and Phyllis Riddle "The Expansion of Primary Education, 1870-1940: Trends and Issues" *Sociology of Education* vol 61 July 1988 p205.

[13] Fry op cit p 84.

[14] Lenman and Stocks op cit p 103.

[15] A Member of a School Board "Scotland's Claim to the Control and Management of Her Own National System of Education" [pamphlet] (Edinburgh: André Elliot, 1878) p 5.

[16] John Black "Some Defects in Our Present School System" [pamphlet] (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1876) p 7.

[17] Anderson op cit p 193.

[18] Henry Craik letter *The Scotsman* 31st October 1906.

[19] Fry op cit p 84.

[20] Ibid p 84.

[21] Ibid p 84.

[22] Andrew Morgan *Makers of Scottish Education* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1929) pp 230 & 240.

[23] Henry Craik *A Century of Scottish History from the Days Before the '45 to Those Within Living Memory* vol II (Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1901) p 450.

[24] James Bowen *A History of Western Education* vol III (London: Methuen & Co, 1981) pp 146-160.

[25] See D E Easson "The Medieval Church in Scotland and Education" *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* vol VI part I 1936 for some, albeit limited, evidence of their presence in schools as far back as records allow.

[26] Church of Scotland (Education Committee) *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Church of Scotland, 1872) p 8.

[27] Argyll Commission in Curtis op cit pp 45-46.

[28] Annmarie Turnbull "Learning Her Womanly Work: the Elementary School Curriculum, 1870-1914" in Felicity Hunt [ed] *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987) p 84.

[29] Amy Stewart Fraser *The Hills of Home* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973/1985) pp 101-102; see also Lyn Jamieson "We All Left at 14: Boys' and Girls' Schooling circa 1900-1930" in Fiona M S Paterson and Judith Fewell [eds] *Girls in Their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990) p 20 for a similar story.

[30] Some interesting remarks on gender formation amongst children can be found in Andrew Samuels "In Praise of Gender Confusion" *Soundings* issue 2 1996.

[31] George Rountree *A Govan Childhood: The 1930s* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993) p 177 tells much the same story but specifies that divisions outside the classroom were self-regulated.

[32] Muriel Spark *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (London: Penguin Books, 1961/1990) p 5).

To clarify this issue as to the interaction of biology (sex) and culture (gender) one might do much worse than consider the discussion in Richard L Gregory (ed) *The Oxford Companion to the Mind* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987). Miranda Hughes and Corinne Hutt give a summary of current scientific thinking on this theme as follows:

(i) There are biological sex differences which predispose males and females to some behavioural differences. (ii) Care-givers respond differently to males and to females, but these responses are to the child's behaviour [males being more active than females from an early age] rather than to his or her sex. (iii) There are sex differences in brain organization, but it is not established beyond doubt that these are related to sex differences in intellectual activity. (iv) Cultural influences act to persuade children to conform to sex-stereotyped expectation.

- ibid p 702.

Appeals to science as saviour are hardly always wise but it does seem worth taking note of these broadly scientific conclusions as they are certainly less heated than much else than it is said on the subject of gender/sex difference[s].

[33] Bowen op cit pp 451-452.

[34] See John Coolahan "The Daring First Decade of the Board of National Education: 1831-1841" *Iris Eireannach an Oidechais* vol XVII no 1 1983 & Frank Wallis "The Revival of the Anti-Maynooth Campaign in Britain: 1850-1852" *Albion* vol XIX no 4 winter 1987.

[35] See Alan Cummings "The Education of New Zealand Girls Towards the End of the Nineteenth Century" *Paedagogica Historica* XXI 1981 p 50; see also J J Small "Religion and the Schools in New Zealand, 1877-1963" *Comparative Education Review* vol 9 no 1 February 1965.

[36] Quoted in *History of St Mungo's Academy: 1858-1958* (Glasgow: St Mungo's, 1958) p 139.

[37] *The Glasgow Herald* "Scotch Education" 19th December 1917.

[38] Joan Bland "The Impact of Government on English Catholic Education: 1870-1902" *The Catholic Historical Review* vol LXII no 1 January 1976 p 54.

[39] United Free Church of Scotland (Education Committee) *Reports to the General Assembly of the United Free Church of Scotland* vol XVII (Edinburgh: United Free Church of Scotland, 1918) p 2; an extensive file of letters of protest and petitions against special rights for voluntary schools from many Church of Scotland and Free Church presbyteries and congregations in the SRO confirms that both Free and established church Protestants opposed the 1918 Act but only the Free Church said so officially, see ED/14/91.

[40] The SED *Report* for 1919-1920 lists the transferred schools as:

ROMAN CATHOLIC: 225 schools
 EPISCOPALIAN: 17
 CHURCH of SCOTLAND: 2
 FREE CHURCH: 1
 UNSPECIFIED OTHERS: 17

Committee of the Council on Education in Scotland Report 1919-1920 (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1920) [cmd 782] p 18.

[41] Brother Kenneth "The Education (Scotland) Act, 1918, in the Making" *The Innes Review* vol XIX no 2 1968 p 124.

[42] Anthony Wright *Lives of the Left: R H Tawney* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987) p 91.

[43] *Glasgow Observer and Catholic Herald* "Catholic Schools and Public Control" 11th August 1917 & "English Education Reforms" 18th August 1917.

[44] Brother Kenneth op cit p 101.

[45] Thomas Johnston letter in *Forward* 24th December 1917 quoted in Ian Wood *Lives of the Left: John Wheatley* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990) p 283.

[46] Fry op cit p 139.

[47] Allan Massie "Retrospective" in Trevor Royle [ed] *Jock Tamson's Bairns* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1977) p 69.

[48] Giles Gordon "Three Estates: Scotch, Scots, Scottish" in ibid pp 140-141.

[49] Spark op cit p 34.

One such was W C Sellar (descendant of the Sutherland factor of clearance infamy) who was a master at Fettes in Edinburgh but is better remembered as co-author of *1066 And All That*.

[50] Peter Jones "Education" in Magnus Linklater and Robin Dennistoun [eds] *Anatomy of Scotland: How Scotland Works* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992) p 106.

[51] Royal Commission on Endowed Schools and Hospitals (Scotland) *First Report*, 1873 minutes of evidence of the session of 26th November 1872 pp 60-62.

[52] Lenman and Stocks op cit pp 100-101.

[53] Anderson op cit p 193.

[54] Elizabeth Fish "The Interests of Girls in Elementary and Continuation Schools" in John Clarke [ed] *Problems of National Education by Twelve Scottish Educationalists* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1919) p 90.

[55] Charlotte E Ainslie "The Aim and Outlook in the Secondary Education of Girls" in *ibid* p 115.

[56] Fish op cit p 83.

[57] Ainslie op cit p 120.

[58] Fish op cit p 99.

[59] Ainslie op cit p 121.

[60] Ainslie op cit p 114 & Fish op cit pp 97-98.

[61] Michael Lynch *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1991/1994) p 428.

[62] Alison Jaggar "Political Philosophies of Women's Liberation" in Mary Vetterling-Braggin, Frederick A Elliston and Jane English [eds] *Feminism and Philosophy* (Savage : Rowman & Littlefield, 1977) p 12.

[63] Amanda Vickery "Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History" *The Historical Journal* vol 36 no 2 1993 p 63.

[64] See Jane Miller *School for Women* (London: Virago, 1996) especially p 189.

In this second chapter I shall examine special and unique features of the rural female school experience in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 and I shall develop further the idea of Scottish educational particularism by examining its relationship to the context of rural life and learning. I shall deal only with those girls whose families habitually lived on the land and earned their livings from it rather than daughters of aristocratic and wealthy farming families who may have lived *in* the countryside but who were not recognisably bound to the land as 'farming folk' such as Margaret Roberts [b 1885] the daughter of a prosperous farmer in East Lothian, who was schooled privately before matriculating to study medicine in one of the first batches of women to do so in Scotland¹. The experiences of this latter type of girl will generally be covered in the chapter on independent schools and schooling. I shall also restrict myself primarily to a discussion of elementary schooling in the countryside and deal with some aspects of the experiences of girls attending rural schools offering more advanced study in a later chapter.

It is *necessary* to investigate the rural experience before turning to the urban because in the modern history of Scotland it can be *tempting* to concentrate on the urban without ever saying anything about the rural. (In the chapters which immediately follow this I turn respectively to the Catholic and the independent school experience on much the same grounds that it would be tempting to ignore these as peripheral to the urban, Protestant, state financed mainstream story.) It is perhaps inevitable that the rural should be seen as marginal in this respect because, by 1872, Scotland's population was highly concentrated in a 'central belt' of land which, if not yet fully urbanised was soon to be so. Running between Glasgow in the west, Edinburgh in the east and north to Dundee, this excluded Aberdeen, an outpost of urban development in the very far north east. The skewing of Scottish population to favour these industrialised areas was only to become more pronounced in the years from 1872 to 1945 with migration to the

cities in the wake of agricultural depression in the 1870s never being reversed thereafter².

By 1850, one Scot in five lived in one of the four big cities - Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee or Aberdeen; in 1900 it was one in every three. The Scottish experience was overwhelmed by the great cities.....The stunning rise of Glasgow to 'second city of the Empire' made it both unique and typical of other Scottish towns³.

The Scotland of the period 1872 to 1945 was "a society in which industrialization had gone as far as anywhere in the world"⁴. Thus, while it is true that "the urban-rural dichotomy has not been as pronounced in Britain as in Australia, or....North America"⁵ it would be easy but unwise to ignore the qualitative differences in rural educational experiences and even the quantitative argument weighs heavily in that as late as 1939 a not insignificant 100,000 people still earned their livings from the land in Scotland⁶.

To understand the experience of schooling in a Scottish rural context in general and girls' schooling in that context in particular it is first necessary to know something of the shape of the Scottish countryside in the period. In a well known poem, Robert Frost addressed the people of north America and reminded them that "the land was ours before we were the land's". By this he seems to have meant that the land on which they live shapes people or works them over as surely as they shape or work it over. Each influences the other and it is easy to see how social and personal relationships must be structured all the more so in a rural than an urban environment by considerations of how the land lies and how it is worked.

Regional variation in Scottish agriculture in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been characterised as producing a split between:

*the Lothians south of the forth, and northwards
through Fife, Strathday and Strathmore.....the Merse
of Berwick and.....the rich dairylands of Galloway.....
[which, from the 1850s] provided a way of
life that was closest to that of the midland, eastern
and southern shires of England.....⁷*

and the harder lands of the highlands, the western and northern isles and the shoulder of low lying, flat but rocky and wind-swept land around Aberdeenshire. Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and other areas of the west coast lowlands around Glasgow, with their poor soils and, from the late eighteenth century, increasing concentration on mining and heavy industry developed as a buffer between the two categories. (The list of more Anglicised farming areas might also include Ayrshire⁸). Life had always been possible on Scotland's 'hard lands' (the areas which did not become commercially Anglicised) at a level sufficiently, if not comfortably, above subsistence. However, from the mid to late seventeenth century in the lowlands (including the north east) and the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in the highlands the communal working of large holdings which provided this life was under increasing pressure⁹.

More or less independent crofters or tenant farmers emerged in the highlands, the western isles, the north east, and - to an extent - in Shetland and Orkney¹⁰ as opposed to the larger farms worked directly by their owners or by tenants of such wealth and stature that they were indistinguishable from fully fledged landowners in the Anglicised areas. Only the orchards of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire, "the gairden o' Scotland"¹¹, stood out against the general pattern in offering a rural way of life not Anglicised but not akin to that of the crofters of the highlands, north east and the northern isles. Families in crofting areas might now scrape a living poorer than before the break up of their ancestors' communal holdings, but

by the turn of the twentieth century this living was probably still better than that enjoyed by those who had left the land for work in the cities¹².

"In East Lothian, with its preponderance of large farms, the...farmer...drew his farm servants from the children of farm servants. His compeer in the north east, on the other hand, drew most of his servants from the children of peasant farmers"¹³. In the century up to the end of the Second World War a Lothian farm servant might remain as such all his life, as had generations before him, but amongst the crofters or small peasant farmers of the north east most people employed on farms had land to go back to when seasonal work or a short term contract on a large farm was over. It was thus that they retained a degree of independence. There is a technical difference between farm servants, employed on short but fixed contracts usually of six months or a year and day, and casual farm labourers but I shall disregard this and treat all agricultural wage labourers as significantly similar. They were those who earned their living from rural work while having no control over the land on which they worked either through ownership or at least renting¹⁴. I shall refer to this distinction as that between farm workers and farm occupiers where ownership or rental of a small farm or croft counts equally as occupation.

Rural life in the Anglicised areas was dominated by the influence of landlords/employers¹⁵. This made for a position which was close to that of much of rural England where:

*[despite] the move away from a quasi-paternalistic paradigm of master and servant, towards a more straightforward employer/wage earner oriented situation later in the century..... [the] importance of paternalism in determining social behaviour in the nineteenth-century countryside should not be underestimated.*¹⁶

Of course there were many subtleties and distinctions between parts of rural England in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and this paternalism diminished markedly in the early twentieth century but the general picture seems to hold true. England generally lacked small, diversified holdings in the hands of independent land occupiers, as typified by the crofters, through much of the period 1872 to 1945. In fact, such was this lack that English agriculture suffered far greater pain in the slump of the 1870s and the various cyclical downturns thereafter because so many of its rural areas, depending as they did only a few large farms, had all their eggs in very few basket¹⁷. As a result of this lack of independent land occupiers, the tone of English rural life continued to be set or at least heavily influenced by aristocratic and wealthy landlords throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. Thus there emerged a hierarchy of independence amongst land workers in Britain as a whole. At the bottom (least independent) were the farm workers of England and the Anglicised areas of Scotland. Next came non land-occupying rural workers living in predominantly crofting areas and at the top came the crofters and small farmers.

"[T]he nature of agricultural work never required the degree of deference that [domestic] service required....The short supply of farm servants kept their bargaining position reasonably strong", especially as the rush to the cities accelerated after the turn of the twentieth century¹⁸. But particularly amongst the crofters of the highlands and islands, there was markedly less deference than in England or elsewhere in rural Scotland, and Paul Thompson suggests that while large and wealthy land owners were not often defied they were regularly ignored or avoided¹⁹. Backs were turned rather than caps doffed²⁰. Much the same picture of an independence born of being largely left alone to cope as best they could with their circumstances can be painted of the fishing communities of Scotland's western seaboard, western isles and, especially, the north east. There was in fact often a degree of cross-over between crofters and fishing folk with

women from crofting communities in particular often taking seasonal work on shore to gut and process fish²¹. In some respects, fishing communities can be thought of as the crofters of the sea and the experiences of girls from crofting stock seem often enough to have been reflected in the experiences of girls from fishing families²².

The most important collection of personal narratives currently available to help in the project of examining rural female school experiences between 1872 and 1945 is Lynn Jamieson's and Claire Toynbee's volume of oral testimonies *Country Bairns: Growing up 1900-1930*²³. True, this leaves a fifteen year gap at the end of the period but the difference between rural life in 1930 and the end of our period may not have been so very great though state intervention in the war years had certainly changed the economics of farming by 1945. Rather more difficult to bridge however is the gap between 1872 and 1900. Sean Street's collection of autobiographical extracts, *A Remembered Land: Recollections of Life in the Countryside, 1880-1914*²⁴, is useful in some respects but it is more populist than academic in approach and is exclusively concerned with English experiences. However, there is other material available, such as that from the memoirs of Her Majesty's Inspector [HMI] John Kerr, whose beat covered many of the schools of the north east in the latter part of the nineteenth century²⁵ and those of nineteenth century teachers such as Robert and Elsie Thomas²⁶, though of course teachers' autobiographies are more likely to be records of how square holes were machined for round pegs than recollections of the round pegs themselves. (A S Neill's book *A Dominie's Log* is an exception here as the children whom he taught in rural Gretna may have been more inclined to accept convention than he was!²⁷)

Using personal narratives as our primary sources, what do we find if we begin our examination of the female rural experience by looking for regional variations,

especially in the crucial area of the value attached to rural girls' schooling by the girls themselves and those in a position to shape and influence their schooling? (Crucial because subjective value is one of the things narrative sources can allow us to assess which bureaucratic or sociological histories cannot.) The most obviously apparent relationship between local land holding/land owning practices and educational opportunity which might emerge from a study of such sources seems a simple one. Writing of the English Victorian and Edwardian context, Pamela Horn describes "squire dominated villages [where] the teacher might...be used as an instrument of social control"²⁸. She quotes a typical case from Helmingham in Suffolk of a "girl who refused to curtsy to the squire's wife...being caned for it at school the next day"²⁹. However, there is an obverse side to this depiction of the triangular relationship between large rural landowners, teachers and farm workers and their children. It is captured by Jessie Stonham in the portion of her memoir of life in Victorian Herefordshire reproduced by Sean Street. Landlord interference in schooling, she says, was "in some cases...tyrannical...[but it] was mostly benevolent; and this had its effect in the schools"³⁰. If correct, it follows that a powerful landowner taking an interest in the education of children living on and around his lands might as easily be an enervating as a deadening influence³¹. But there is an immediate problem with applying an English model directly to the Scottish experience. Scottish teachers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were almost certainly a breed apart from those of England. This is a difficult and complicated study in its own right but the general argument can be summarised as follows.

[From] about the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Scottish Universities preserved and developed a quite different side of the common inheritance of Scholasticism and the Renaissance [unlike] the English Universities.....the Scottish Universities let the collegiate system die out.³²

The suspicion of collegial life - identified with Anglican, Catholic and Anglo-Catholic values - was such that no Scottish university had even a hall of residence till the latter part of the nineteenth century when Edinburgh became the first³³. The teaching colleges took their lead from this being equally unwilling to provide accommodation for their students if it smacked of Jesuitical supervision of and interference with students' lives³⁴. Less accustomed to the blurring of distinctions between study, worship and home life than those socialised in collegiate universities and teaching colleges in England, (except in the case of Catholics), Scottish teachers may have emerged from their own education and training unwilling to interfere in the lives of their pupils outside school to the extent that English teachers were. Robert Anderson has called this "moral neutrality" on the part of Scottish teachers as distinct to the tendency towards moral interference on the part of their English colleagues³⁵. Thus, we may expect there to have been a difference in degree in the strength of the landlord/teacher alliance or common cause in those most Anglicised parts of rural Scotland and this necessitates proceeding with caution, but does the general picture still hold true? Was there a regional variation in Scotland between areas in which girls' schooling was valued only or largely for its possibilities as an agent of social control? Were traditional expectations of girls accepting the minimum of formal education then proceeding to work in the fields as needed and otherwise at home, and never experiencing their schooling as a liberating period longer lasting and more deeply entrenched in landlord dominated parts of Scotland? In the borderline case of Lanarkshire one of the heritors, that is major local landowners who, along with the minister in each parish, controlled elementary parochial schools prior to 1872, made it clear shortly before the act received Royal Assent how he thought a rural school ought to operate:

*In rural districts I think that education should
be confined to sound practical instruction fitting
children for the station in which it has pleased God*

*to place them.....and I think that the country girl
who can use her needle skilfully, who can cook
.....and keep herself and her house clean and tidy
will be a more useful member of society.....than [a]
more ambitious damsel*³⁶.

How common might such experiences have been? Certainly, A S Neill was distressed by the conditions he found in Gretna, a small border town in one of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scotland's most landlord dominated areas. He writes of meeting local gentry and landowners who were less than impressed by his attempts at raising the expectations of local children. When he told one local lady aristocrat that he "acknowledge[d only] one aristocracy - the aristocracy of the intellect" she was apparently so surprised by this perverse attitude that she simply "stared.....and went away"³⁷. In 1915 Neill certainly though he was at war with interests and forces intent on ensuring that schools taught pliant and productive obedience and did not produce "ambitious damsels". Typical of the fate of girls in Neill's school seems to have been the female dux medal winner who had left school at the legal minimum age, even before receiving her prize³⁸. Of another girl he wailed "Poor Margaret! When she is fourteen she will go out into the fields, and in three years she will be as ignorant as a country bumpkin"³⁹. Note that Neill says here in effect "*any* country bumpkin" so that it is unclear whether or not he imagined the girls of Borders' families to be especially ignorant. Thus it is not clear if he is himself giving a 'gendered analysis' and it might be unwise to put words into his mouth (or his autobiography) but it seems reasonable to assume that Margaret's chances of converting Duxhood (no mean intrinsic achievement in itself it has to be said) into anything else were significantly diminished by her gender. (It is even perhaps a little too obvious to state this fact as this entire thesis proceeds from the assumption that female educational experience is in particular need of investigation because it has so long been both so poor in itself and so poorly studied.) Neill was however clearly less than typical in that time and place in putting much effort into caring what became

of Margaret and girls like her whose educational opportunities were circumscribed specifically as a result of their gender.

But what of the girls themselves? By whom do they recall being more influenced pro or con the value of formal education beyond the legal minimum - the farmers who dominated the rural scene, their teachers or their parents? In landlord dominated areas where there was less independent land occupation, is there direct evidence that girls brought attitudes from home which led them to hold their schooling in low regard and to expect little from it? Annie Hamilton [b 1921] recalls that her mother [b 1879] from Dalmellington near Ayr won a bursary award which might have allowed her more schooling than the legal minimum but was not allowed to take up the place at a secondary school because her father would have "no ladies in his house"⁴⁰. If a generally high valuation of education arises in a society as a result of a 'virtuous circle' or spiral in which the success of each generation contributes to that of the next then it is not unreasonable to expect that the culture of paid agricultural workers made for more of a vicious circle of formal education being held in low esteem through successive generations. Although the farm servants in Aberdeenshire may have been less of a class apart from the crofters in whose midst they lived and less dominated by their employers than those of the borders, Galloway or Ayrshire⁴¹, HMI Kerr surveyed his north eastern nineteenth century beat and reflected that the communal life of the bothies in which male farm servants were housed usually until they were married made for an environment not conducive to producing a culture which valued education. The life of the bothies was lively, loud and public, it was also oral - producing a rich tradition of 'bothy ballads', and while it was not necessarily an intellectual desert - as the bothy ballads with their sharp social and political commentaries show - it did not allow much of the quiet contemplation and thought which formal schooling favours:

[Farm] servants have opportunity for self-improvement [only] by reading.....[in] a noisy kitchen....or a comfortless bothy in which there is no privacy, or a badly lit sleeping-place in the loft above the stable.⁴²

If this was the situation in the north east where the settled independent life of the croft or small farm was common, it can only have been worse in those parts of the country where such a life was not. Mrs West [b 1921] from Lothian, daughter of a 'mixed marriage' between a farm servant father who came from a line of farm servants and a mother of crofting stock, interviewed by Jamieson and Toynbee, records that:

My mother was a very understanding woman. My father, well he never seemed to take much interest in what ye [sic] was doing; he was just different. A different upbringing.He never had education. He had no interest in education.....education was oot.⁴³

Thus there may have been a culture of low esteem for the possibilities of the intangible personal benefits of education with a concentration instead on "siller...money, money, money"⁴⁴ which took deep root amongst those who had little leisure or scope to even contemplate different ways of life. Agnes Gell from Ugston near Haddington in east Lothian [b 1924] may have found her parents supportive of her education but while her father may have been formally classed as a farm servant he belonged to the specialised group of grieves, the managers or foremen, who administered large farms for their owners. Grieves ranked highly in the rural labour aristocracy and their daughters' self esteem may have benefited from that. Certainly grieves did not live the often harsh life of the bothy and could, having worked their way up to the position over many years, expect greater stability of employment than farm workers usually enjoyed⁴⁵. Their noses may have been lifted above the grindstone of agricultural labour and they did not face the constant threat of unemployment which left other, lesser, land workers

obsessed with the accumulation of "siller" and generally blind to the wider horizons of personal development which education might offer. It is hard to fix one's sight on the stars with back bent over the plough.

But amongst those with the greatest degree of stability and for whom the land provided not merely a living but a home, conditions seem to have been most favourable for the valuing of education, including that of girls. An anthropological survey of crofting life concludes that:

Crofters in general respect the symbols of authority[and they] respect education....[but] they have a cynical disregard for the explicit trappings of authority⁴⁶.

For her collection *Island Voices*, Fiona MacDonald found Mary Morrison [b 1935] who says of her childhood on a croft in Skye:

It was amazing [what].....poor families could do....in those days. It must have been a tremendous sacrifice. It was taken for granted that if you had the ability you carried on [with schooling].⁴⁷

This is borne out yet again in the Jamieson and Toynbee interviews by Mrs Gillies [b 1889]. A crofter's daughter from Lewis she was sure "[education] was what counted. It always counted.....[parents] sacrificed everything to educate you"⁴⁸. Other women with crofting backgrounds, such as Christine James [b c 1930]⁴⁹ and Flora MacDonald from Lochmaddy on North Uist confirm this from their own experiences⁵⁰. Christine James is particularly proud that "The islands have, for years and years, fed the ministry [and supplied] doctors and bankers". For her own part, she was always keen to learn and "couldn't play the jester" in school as her parents valued education too highly to allow this. Flora MacDonald's parents were "very supportive and encouraging" and she adds "the older I got the more I

realised how right they were". Elizabeth C Sherry, a highland born autobiographer [b c 1920s] from a crofting family near the Moray Firth, speaks simply of pride in her sister's bursary to Inverness Academy as though it was entirely natural to take such a pride. Recalling his time teaching in a highland school in the 1970s, a century after the first Act, teacher and educational theorist James Pye maintained that there was still a residual but distinctive value attributed to schooling there⁵¹. Rare material from a daughter of one of the less common landless farm workers from the highlands confirms the picture. May Carruthers [b 1905] from Caithness cites cold, hard economic fact as the reason behind her curtailed schooling. There was no "tremendous sacrifice" and nothing "taken for granted" where she was concerned⁵². Like Agnes Gell, her father was a specialist, a ploughman, and as such along with the orramen (specialists with stock) somewhat above other farm workers though still below a grieve⁵³. But the qualitative gap between land occupier and land worker still obtained in his case even though specialists were not required to share in the rough communal life of bothy housing which Kerr thought hardened other farm workers against seeing value in schooling.

Time brought change and the children of farm workers were never entirely without hope of an education beyond the most basic. Another of Jamieson and Toynbee's interviewees, Mrs Doughtie [b 1912] had a background as the child of a farm working father in the borders. She revealed that she "would like to have been....a history teacher or something like that", and asked "Would your parents have liked that for you?"; she was sure that "they would fine", and only the costs of schooling beyond the legal minimum prevented them supporting her in this⁵⁴. In particular, change occurred as a result of a generally increased unwillingness to continue to accept women engaged on outdoor farm work. In the final quarter of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth in increasing numbers women either left the land to take work in cities as domestic servants or stayed in a rural context but remained at home and were less and less often seen in the

fields⁵⁵. This is as opposed to the situation in, say, China or Mexico where women working in the fields remained (and remains) common practice⁵⁶. Such a change may have improved educational opportunities by removing the pressure for girls/women to work manually from the earliest possible age but the imperative for women to work at home on domestic tasks or to go into service generally expanded to fill the time and space left by their previous outdoor work.

However, there remained advantages and disadvantages specific to girls' schooling in a rural context whether amongst land occupiers or land workers. It is to these that I turn next. Jamieson and Toynbee acknowledge this when they summarise some of the conclusions they are able to draw from their oral fieldwork under the heading "Gender and Destiny". There they point out that their interviewee Mrs Gillies (daughter of a crofting family who took the high road of education to university and beyond as a teacher) may have been able to go to university:

but personal preferences are shaped by visible opportunities, as well as by intellectual space and stimulation encouraging alternative visions. Girls [such as Mrs Gillies] did not leave school wanting to be [such things as] shepherds, as this was not an option available to them..... [Mrs Gillies] had no positive image of local employment to counter-balance the prospect [of going away for further education]. She could have stayed on the croft, but the role available was [only] one of helping.....Young men staying on the croft were often doing so in the knowledge that it would eventually become theirs. Young women with brothers interested in the croft could only stay for life at the behest of their brother. Crofting communities often offered no local alternative to agricultural work for women. In less prosperous families than Mrs Gillies', when girls were not needed by the croft and/or the girls themselves wanted to get away, the 'solution' was domestic service.⁵⁷

Thus, while accepting that - given the right circumstances - life amongst independent land occupiers such as the crofters of the western isles was the most conducive rural environment for the flourishing of girls' schooling and generally the most likely to lead to further education, Jamieson and Toynbee point to the fact that such girls still lacked the possibility of the very land occupying independence which had favoured them in the first place. A croft or small farm would only very rarely pass to a daughter. Thus Jamieson and Toynbee appear to suggest that the liberty to study for the daughters of independent land occupying families was more of a consolation prize for being denied the chance of inheriting land than anything else. This may be somewhat exaggerated but it does go some way to explaining why a woman such as, for example, Mary MacLennan [b 1911, retired teacher] from a family of small farmers/crofters on Bursay, Orkney, is so resentful when she recalls being "pushed into being semi-educated"⁵⁸ without even necessarily knowing why she is resentful herself.

The *prima facie* obvious advantage for any girl in having a rural schooling was the possibility (however remote) that she might be taken up as protégée by a teacher. This is not to say that she would become a lass o' pairts because the idea of the lad or lass o' pairts has often been misunderstood and is not in fact directly applicable to the school context, but she might still get some special attention and learn more from her teacher than would otherwise be the case. To understand the unique possibility of being a female rural protégée it is first necessary to be clear how this differs from the idea of the lad/lass o' pairts. It is because they misunderstand the lad o' pairts that Jamieson and Toynbee rush to judgement on the female rural protégée.

*The hero of the egalitarian version of...
[Scotland's educational] past is the 'lad of pairts'
.....who went from local school to university
and beyond, despite an 'ordinary' background
and the absence of state provision of universal*

secondary schooling and student grants. While such lads existed, they are likely to have had rather extraordinary family backgrounds which fostered learning and achievement, to have been nurtured in one of the outstanding schools, and to have been singled out by an outstanding dominieAlso, as the expression suggests, girls from such family backgrounds were not likely to have been nurtured in this way.⁵⁹

Here they are doing no more than repeating ideas which have recently become commonplace in academic circles. Both detailed and general studies which are otherwise excellent as, for example, Anderson's *Universities and Elites in Britain Since 1800*⁶⁰ and Grant and Humes's "Scottish Education, 1700-1900" in Paul Scott's *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History*⁶¹ fail to interrogate the idea of the lad o' pairts to the fullest extent. Reasoning on this theme is marred by pro or anti polemic which seeks to bulwark a supposed tradition of educational particularism characterised by the lad o' pairts or attack an imagined myth. Either way, the debate often proceeds by leaps and bounds. It will not help us in finding lads or lassies o' pairts and related figures if we look for the wrong things in the wrong places.

The lad o' pairts was a university student⁶². He existed for as long as he was at university and he ceased to exist after he left university. Before he reached university he may have been a school protégé but he was not strictly speaking a lad o' pairts until he matriculated (or after he graduated). It was also essential that he came from a rural background⁶³. "Pairt" can mean talent, ability or aspect but the prior, more common and more obvious use of the word as "part", "portion" or "share" is important. The pairt to which the lad was so much attached was his part or share in a small family farm or croft which he had left behind⁶⁴. To come from such a background would hardly be distinctive *in* a rural school thus, the lad only existed after he left that school and moved to an urban university. He is thus

typified by Andrew Manson in A J Cronin's 1937 novel *The Citadel*. His father having been "a small Fifeshire farmer...solid, painstaking and steady":

*At eighteen Andrew found himself alone, a first year student at St Andrews University, carrying a scholarship worth £340 a year, but otherwise penniless.....[except for] the Glen Endowment,....[for] deserving and necessitous students of the baptismal name of Andrew.*⁶⁵

Written in 1937 within not much more than a generation of the reforms which brought in the universal students grants which put an end to the lad and his struggles, *The Citadel* represents one of the highest development of the idea. It builds self-consciously on a tradition of the lad as a literary trope and is thus both his last and his finest hour. As a student the lad's achievement was in surviving on the small income his family might have been able to provide him and/or a charitable endowment ("The Glen Endowment, coupled with some gay starvation"⁶⁶).

Being distinctively Scottish, the lad was not an autodidact. Thus, Grant and Humes incorrectly give Robert Burns as an example of a lad⁶⁷. Burns [b 1759, Alloway, formally educated in the school at Alloway Mill] was largely *self* taught in most of what he knew but this does not make him a lad o' pairts, only an autodidact. The self educated working class man (or woman) might exist anywhere⁶⁸. The lad o' pairts is uniquely Scottish and thus the lad's specific nature cannot be confused with the general idea of autodidacticism. The lad fits into the broader picture of Scottish educational particularism because he is specially willing to suffer privation while at university as a result of the high value placed on education by the culture from which he comes. Employing this stricter, more precise definition of the lad o' pairts clarifies the confusion which has arisen around him and his nature. Further, while there may well have been real lads o' pairts in Scotland's universities in our period and before, it is important to

emphasise that the lad's true existence, in its purest form, was always as a literary trope. The perfect lad has never existed outside the pages of a novel⁶⁹. Critics such as Jamieson and Toynbee appear to think that this should reduce or even eliminate the historian's interest in the lad. If few can be found to have existed and the true nature of the idea is as a literary character then he is of no significance. What this argument misses however is the significance of the literary life of the lad as an indicator of aspiration. The fact that the lad is found so often in fiction but so little in life does not make him a myth who may conveniently be ignored. Rather he is an expression of a desire or aspiration. Thus he remains a legitimate object of the historian's interest because he may be a key not to knowing what happened or how people lived but to knowing what people *wanted* to happen and how they *desired* to live. The continued existence of a strong idea of the lad o' pairts throughout our period is a measure of the value placed on education by those Scots who believed in him.

Before the general admission of girls/young women to Britain's universities in the early 1880s there were no lassies o' pairts because there could not be by definition. After the 1880s when admission began there were probably still none because the class profile of the first few batches of women to matriculate (especially in medicine where some of the earliest and most famous battles over university admission were fought) was not such as to include women from modest rural circumstances⁷⁰. But what of the possibility of being a protégée - being "singled out by an outstanding dominie"?

The advantage for girls of living in a rural context is evident, as the teacher doing the singling out was more likely to choose a girl because the numbers of pupils available of either gender would be restricted in a rural school. (In Grassie Gibbon's *13th Disciple* the group of protégé[e]s in whom the dominie takes a special interest comprises only one boy and two girls⁷¹.) Dominies/teachers in

rural situations may have been obliged to work with whatever was at hand. But for what was a protégée being singled out? As Jamieson and Toynbee note, the issue of mass access to higher education is largely a post Second World War phenomenon and it is thus not necessary to imagine that the rural protégée was always being groomed for university⁷². Success in one's formal education is not simply about progressing from school to university. Rather, success in education is a matter of valuing what one learns - however much or little - and integrating that learning with one's self so that once learned, lessons are not simply remembered but *lived*. As James Pye says: "[Most school pupils] acquire information: but they cannot make what they learn part of their own lives. They can have no mental life at all, if by mental life is meant risky, curious receptiveness to the world"⁷³. Being a rural protégée may not have led to university as a lad or lass o' pairts in some or even most cases, but a teacher might still perform a distinctive service by showing a pupil how to integrate learning with his/her own person. The great teacher will do this for all his/her pupils but it is not given to most teachers to be great and the lesser achievement of finding one pupil every so often for whom this might be done is not to be under valued.

Isobel Kiffen [b 1913, Angus] "wasn't just so strong" and thus had no more schooling than the legal minimum but she remains convinced that a rural dominie inspired her to relish and value what she did have. "Mr C C Robertson....was such an excellent teacher"⁷⁴. Archie Cameron [b 1903] from the isle of Rhum recalls a teacher, Peter Jopp, whom he describes as "Academically....a genius....who would come to our house to tutor my sister....[on] any subject, from the language of Chaucer to modern politics"⁷⁵. An English rural autobiographer (and remember it is the lad o' pairts that is confined to Scotland, the protégée may exist anywhere) reflects particularly on the number of:

county schools [which] were often led by

*dedicated women who, because of the smaller number of children, were able to know and love their pupils [individually]*⁷⁶.

In Lewis Grassie Gibbon's classic account of the small farmers, crofters and farm servants of the north east, *Sunset Song*, the female rural protégée even becomes a literary trope in her own right. When an inspector calls and she has the chance to impress him with all that the dominie has been teaching her, she chooses to reject the side of herself which accepts the dominie's ideas on how to live and learn⁷⁷. In that moment at least she takes her values from "the bothy billies, the ploughmen and the orramen"⁷⁸ from whom her father came and for whom formal schooling is "Dirt!"⁷⁹. For all her father is a crofter or small farmer by the time of her birth the values of that culture not deeply bred in him, his own father having been only a landless ploughman⁸⁰.

Jamieson, Toynbee, Grant, Humes, Anderson and others all think faith in the idea of a Scottish educational particularism vested in the lad o' pairts has obscured serious study of the school experiences of Scottish girls. Jamieson and Toynbee are especially interested in the obscuring of the truth of rural female experiences. But, as we have seen, the idea of the lad o' pairts is more a record of aspiration than of fact and it is not directly applicable to schools; thus they may be a little wide of the mark. What *does* obscure the true study of rural girls' educational experiences is faith in the idea of the relationship between the rural teacher and his/her protégée. Detached from the idea of the lad o' pairts to which it is only contingently related and with which it is certainly not identical, the image of rural teacher and protégée has some foundation in fact as the examples above show but the same proximity and intimacy which make for the possibility of the rural protégée could also make for the more sinister relationship of rural teacher and trapped victim. In simply assuming that there were few, if any, lassies o' pairts (as they incorrectly understand them) bred in the Scottish countryside under the pre-

1945 school system, Jamieson and Toynbee miss the opportunity to discuss some of the *real* difficulties derived from rural context which girls experienced. In other word, because they assume that relations between a rural girl and her teacher were unlikely ever to have been good enough for her to have been fostered as a protégée, so they appear to miss or disregard the evidence both of the strength of relationship which could be achieved and of the depths of mutual antagonism which could be plumbed. Less time assuming what sort of relationships rural girls *did not* have with their teachers and more time analysing those which they *did* may prove instructive. If there is complacency in believing in Scottish educational particularism in rural contexts, it is here.

For every protégé[e] nurtured in a small country school in Scotland between the 1870s and the 1940s (whether male or female) there may well have been a victim of serious and sustained teacher abuse:

[T]he number [of Edwardian teachers] who showed signs of definite mental imbalance was considerable[and at] a rough guess, a good quarter of Edwardian children left school to harbour resentments against their teachers.....

argues Paul Thompson⁸¹. And the problem may have been particularly acute in rural schools. In 1910 an internal minute prepared by an HMI was frank in spelling out the concern about the teachers in the most rural of Scotland's schools, those on the many islands of Scotland's fragmented western edge. "Not infrequently....[there is] delay in meeting deficiencies in staff [in island schools because the]...only applicants....[have been] manifestly jettisoned by other boards"⁸². This does not entail mental instability on the part of all island teachers but it does suggest that many had problems and these problems may have gone beyond simply being less well qualified than some other colleagues. Thus rural schools, and especially those on the islands, may have been a sink for all that was

worst in the profession. What was true under Edward [1901 to 1910] was only a continuation of what had been true under Victoria and what was true in the pre-1918 section of our period, could only have been worse thereafter. The First World War is likely to have done nothing but harm to the collective mental health of Europe. Teaching was a profession forced on many ex-servicemen. Many erstwhile soldiers damaged by the war in ways too deep to see may have come into schools and brought those injuries with them. Certainly the teaching profession was disrupted in England in the 1920s by the arrival in its midst of a significant number of male teachers (organised primarily in the National Association of Schoolmasters) holding proto-Fascist and anti-feminist ideas⁸³. It seems likely that some of these men had their political thinking shaped by the war as was widely the case amongst Fascists and Nazis across Europe. It is thus equally likely that some men returning from the war and entering teaching brought personal demons and mental pathologies with them to class rooms just as others brought war-shaped ideas to politics (though whether support for Fascism or Nazism is more pathological than political is a moot point). Clearly we must note here that the existence of such beliefs amongst certain teachers in the period cannot but have had an adverse impact on the educational experience of girls either through direct contact or indirectly by virtue of those teachers contributing to making the tone of education somewhat Fascistic - intolerant, authoritarian, misanthropic and misogynistic.

But to return to the original theme here, not all rural or insular teachers were unstable and not all those who were unstable suffered from mental illnesses as such. Archie Cameron's teacher on Rhum (and his sister's tutor) was an alcoholic whose isolation on a largely dry island caused him to fly into rages so often and to such a degree that his terrorised pupils wished him dead⁸⁴. What matters for present purposes is that the same man who was an intellectual Dr Jekyll to Cameron's sister was a tyrannical Mr Hyde to Cameron himself and thus captures

both the light and the dark side of the intimate relations of the rural school perfectly.

In the case of three sisters from Wyre one of the smallest islands in the Orkney group, who prefer not to be identified by name, the experience of the dark side of rural schooling did end in their teacher's death, just as Cameron wished his might. Edwin Muir [b 1887] grew up on Wyre and had his first school there. Later, in both prose and poem (such as "The Transmutation") he would eulogise his childhood there - "Incorruptible the child plays still/....in commemoration of a day/That having been can never pass away" and there is evidence enough from other autobiographical sources to suggest that an island childhood *could* be as Muir depicted it⁸⁵. But from 1919 when Janet Powell Longbotham arrived on the island as its sole teacher, the tone of life for children there was very different. Born from whatever cause or causes, Miss Longbotham's mental instability is undeniable from the evidence of her actions. Between 1919 and 1943 when she was found dead, having apparently poisoned herself with disinfectant the night before an expected HMI visit, an event of which she had a morbid dread, Miss Longbotham terrorised and traumatised successive intakes of island children with antics varying from the bizarre to the brutal. The sisters recall that, at various times, she:

[had] one of the kids set up outside on a pillar to see if the boat [carrying the HMI] was coming;

in addition to:

[making pupils] write down funny stories [on pain of].....a good hammering if [they] did not please her;

and

lecturing about the end of the world and the second coming of Christ⁸⁶.

Stories such as those of the Orkney women or Archie Cameron on Rhum do not emerge often or easily but they must be taken seriously when they do. They are vitally important testaments to experiences which are as dark, hidden and occulted in modern Scottish history.

However adults in rural communities were capable of rallying to protect their children from abusive teachers and this may have been especially so in the islands. Certainly Paul Thompson's speculation that Shetlandic parents were especially careful to see that their children were treated well⁸⁷ seems borne out by surviving papers on extraordinary cases of possibly unstable teachers in conflict with communities held in the Scottish Record Office [SRO]. In the mid 1920s the teacher at Gott Public School on Girstla in Shetland was accused of "shewing so much spite towards the children.....[that] the health of the younger [children] especially....[might] be impaired"⁸⁸. Similar complaints were lodged against a married female teacher on Fair Isle in 1932. Reporting on events there an HMI described a scene which might have been written by Compton MacKenzie, if he had thought he could get away with it. The teacher's husband who was the island's minister and who was "more unpopular than his wife", on returning to the island from a holiday found that "the islanders refused to convey him from his steamer to the shore"⁸⁹. And rural children could equally organise themselves to resist treatment they considered inappropriate by their teachers as a brief analysis of the various waves of school strikes which came between the 1880s and the 1930s shows⁹⁰. The rash of strikes known to have started in rural Hawick in 1889 over excessive work load and brutal punishment⁹¹ saw elementary pupils 'out' in thirteen places in Scotland of these, six were recognisably rural (Alyth, Ayr, Broxburn, Hawick, Stevenston and West Calder) plus one other (Cowdenbeath) which can be classed as semi-rural, having been a significant market town at the time. Rural locations which had not seen children strike in 1889 but where they did come out in 1911 include Montrose, Pitlessie and (borderline, semi-rural at

the time) Kircaldy. Thus rural children were always well represented in school strikes, even in the most landlord dominated parts of the country such as the borders around Hawick. Without more detailed work it is difficult to gauge the exact degree of female participation in these strikes but it is still possible to make the general point that rural children (with or without the assistance and connivance of their parents) could assert themselves when they became profoundly unhappy with their schooling. The blanket reputation for passivity afforded to rural girls which was thought of as making them especially well suited to the work of nannying may thus have been undeserved⁹².

To summarise: if elementary schooling in a Scottish rural context ill served or disadvantaged girls, it ill served and disadvantaged boys as well. Where there was an anti-educational culture there seem no grounds for thinking the low value given to formal schooling was especially directed at girls' formal schooling. Where low esteem for schooling existed it was probably a result of parent's poor experiences in turn and was certainly worst where large numbers of people depended on landlords for paid agricultural work and lived in conditions not conducive to study compounded by living lives beset with economic uncertainty which made for short-termism in their thinking and denied them the possibility of seeing the possible worth of 'book learning'. By contrast, where there was a high value placed on school and schooling this applied equally to girls as boys and perhaps even more so the former than the latter as Jamieson and Toynbee suggest because girls had little hope of inheriting the land their families worked. Rural protégé[e]s may as often have been girls as boys as the teachers who adopted them had less scope to pick and choose their favourites than colleagues in larger urban schools. By no manner of means did all female rural protégées become lassies o' pairts, but this does not mean that there was not something special about the regard in which education was held in some parts of Scotland's countryside.

The real problem personal narratives reveal to have existed in rural schools between the 1870s and the 1940s was that of poor teacher/pupil relationships, sometimes as a result of recognisable mental instability on the part of teachers. The same situation may have obtained before the 1870s though not necessarily after the 1940s as improved travel and communication opportunities made rural schools less remote and rural teachers less often laws, or law makers, unto themselves.

Clearly there are more than enough themes in the preceding pages to indicate the reality of a rural gender related gradient of educational experience with boys placed far higher than girls. This is amply demonstrated by the markedly different occupational expectations of girls and boys - boys would, or at least *could*, inherit farms/crofts or could find rural work in a wide variety of roles many of which (as in the case of farm grieves and ploughmen) were relatively well paid. By contrast if girls did move from school to paid work it was only ever a matter of taking such work as they could get, always at lower wage levels. Further even amongst island women celebration of educational achievement was often vicarious. The doctors, bankers, ministers *et al* of whom so many women were proud would of course all have been men (as indeed most doctors, bankers and ministers still are). Thus it almost goes without saying the position of a girl in the social order of any part of rural Scotland in the period 1872 to 1945 was the lowest available and the difficulties boys experienced in obtaining any great quantity and quality of education were only magnified for girls by the additional consideration of gender. None of what has gone before should be read as seeking to diminish or mitigate this fact but it can do no harm to remember that the problems experienced by 'the low' and 'the lowest of the low' in any situation of less than ideal access to education are often not so very great.

NOTES

[1] Lynn Jamieson and Claire Toynbee [eds] *Country Bairns: Growing Up, 1900-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992) interview with Mrs Roberts pp 188-198.

[2] Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt *A Companion to Scottish History* (London: B T Batsford, 1989) p 13.

[3] Michael Lynch *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1991/1994) pp 411 & 413.

[4] Sydney Checkland and Olive Checkland *Industry and Ethos: Scotland 1832-1914* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984) p 41 & Donnachie and Hewitt op cit p 14.

[5] David A Reeder "Schooling in the City: Educational History and the Urban Variable" *Urban Studies* vol 19 no 1 1992 p 32.

[6] Donnachie and Hewitt op cit p 14.

[7] Checkland and Checkland op cit p 55.

[8] Donnachie and Hewitt op cit p 13.

[9] Lynch op cit p 370.

[10] Paul Thompson describes the people of Shetland and Orkney in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as crofters but a more rigorous definition of crofting restricts this title to Shetland and sees most Orcadians in the period as small farmers. Crofting is characterised by the way in which it mixes and matches the farming of various arable crops with animal husbandry and seasonal work for cash or sometimes extra income from fishing. A small farmer might be expected to have a more coherent and consistent source of income and way of life. However, for present purposes, the difference is not great. See, Paul Thompson *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (St Albans: Paladin, 1975/1977) pp 41-42 and passim; contrast with J B Caird "The Reshaped Agricultural Landscape" in M L Parry and T R Slater [eds] *The Making of the Scottish Countryside* (London: Croom Helm, 1980) pp 211-212, & Donnachie and Hewitt op cit p 13.

[11] See Robert McLellan *Linmill Stories* (Edinburgh: Canongate, first published as a collection 1990).

McLellan's stories of life in the orchards and market gardens of Clydesdale in the 1920s and 1930s are less well known than Lewis Grassie Gibbon's stories of the north east, with which they are contemporary, but they are every bit as evocative of time and place and do represent an important historical source for studying a lost way of life.

[12] Thompson op cit p 41.

It should however be emphasised that the lure of working in large towns and cities was considerable for women from the 1850s onwards so that whether or not they might have been wiser to stay on the land, they did leave it in ever increasing numbers - see T M Devine "Women Workers: 1850-19142 in idem [ed] *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland: 1770-1914* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1984).

[13] Ian Carter "The Peasantry of Northeast Scotland" *The Journal of Peasant Studies* vol 3 no 2 1976 p 182.

[14] Ibid p 168.

[15] Jamieson and Toynbee op cit p 13.

[16] Charles Rawding "Society and Place in Nineteenth-Century North Lincolnshire" *Rural History, Economy, Society and Culture* vol 3 no 1 April 1992 p 64.

[17] Donnachie and Hewitt op cit p 13.

[18] Jamieson and Toynbee op cit p 143 note [1].

[19] Thompson op cit p 120.

[20] In Grassie Gibbon's *The 13th Disciple*, it is a gesture of disdain for supposed social superiors to refuse to doff one's hat, only those who are complicit in that system do so "did you see the crautur raise his hat when he met the minister? Thinks he's gentry." Only "gentry" (which, in the class culture of the rural north east, could mean anyone who was not an independent land occupier or a land worker) marked out divisions amongst themselves by this gesture, see idem *The 13th Disciple* (Edinburgh: B & W Publishing, 1931/1995) p 28. /

[21] Donnachie and Hewitt op cit pp 74-75.

[22] See Margaret Buchan "The Social Organisation of Fisher Girls" in Glasgow Womens' Studies Group [eds] *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850-1982* (Glasgow: Pressgang, 1983); Gillian Munro "Tradition and Innovation in the Life of a Fisherman's Wife on the Buchan Coast" *Review of Scottish Culture* no 8 1993; Jamieson and Toynbee op cit interview with Mrs Gillies [b 1889, crofter's daughter] pp 43-46 and Anne Smith *Women Remember: An Oral History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1989) interview with Mary Coull [b 1903, fisherman's daughter] pp 119-152.

[23] Lynn Jamieson "We All Left at 14: Boys' and Girls' Schooling circa 1900-1930" in Fiona M S Paterson and Judith Fewell [eds] *Girls in Their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990) covers much of the same ground, though in less detail.

[24] Sean Street [ed] *A Remembered Land: Recollections of Life in the Countryside, 1880-1914* (London: Michael Joseph, 1994).

[25] John Kerr *Memories Grave and Gay: Forty Years of School Inspection* (Edinburgh: Wm Blackwood and Sons, 1903) p 211; material from *Memories Grave and Gay* and other autobiographical works is also in John G Muir [ed] *An Inspector Recalls: Selections from the Memoirs of Dr John Kerr* (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995).

[26] John Love and Brenda McMullen [eds] *A Salmon for the Schoolhouse: A Nairnshire Parish in the Nineteenth Century from the Diaries of Robert and Elsie Thomas* (Edinburgh: Canongate/European Ethnological Research Centre/National Museums of Scotland, 1994).

[27] A S Neill *A Dominie's Log* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1915/1986).

[28] Pamela Horn *The Victorian and Edwardian Schoolchild* (Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1989) pp 30-31.

[29] Ibid p 31.

[30] Jessie M Stonham *Daughter of Wyedean and Kernow* quoted in Street [ed] op cit p 98.

[31] An excellent and relevant example of well meaning paternal landlord involvement in education is the work of Lord and Lady Aberdeen with their tenants on the Haddo House estate from 1878. Ishbel Marjoribanks (Lady Aberdeen) and her husband experimented with adult education classes for estate workers and others with particular emphasis on "the promotion of the education of [rural] girls after leaving school" - John Campbell Gordon and Ishbel Marjoribanks *We Twa* (Glasgow: Wm Collins, 1925/1927) p 195. The tellingly named "ONWARD AND UPWARDS ASSOCIATION" [emphasis sic] particularly aimed to promote "intercourse [between]....mothers and girls of all classes" which its aristocratic founders considered "[a] great joy" - ibid p 196.

[32] George Davie "In Defence of the Ordinary MA" *The Edinburgh Review* issue 90 1993 pp61-62.

This argument is worked out at greater length in idem *The Democratic Intellect* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961/1982).

[33] Roy M Pinkerton and William J Windram *Mylne's Court: Three Hundred Years of Lawnmarket Heritage* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Information Office, 1983) pp 78-87.

[34] Robert Anderson "Secondary Schools and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth Century" *Past & Present* no 109 November 1985 p 189.

[35] Ibid p 189; this argument is worked out in greater detail in idem *Universities and Elites in Britain Since 1800* (London: Macmillan/The Economic History Society, 1992).

Mary G Clarke [b 1881] was still finding a conspicuous "lack of corporate school activities" in her time at the High School for Girls in Aberdeen which seems to reflect a continuation of this tendency on the part of staff - idem *A Short Life of Ninety Years* (Edinburgh: Astrid & Martin Higgins, 1973) p 14. Perhaps under the influence of Anglicisation this icy neutrality melted. Certainly, by the 1930s the Brodie set were being criticised for their lack of team spirit of which Miss Brodie was sceptical but while she can be (and has been) accused of many things, moral neutrality in her teaching is not one of them - see Muriel Spark *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961/1990) p 6 & passim.

[36] *The Hamilton Advertiser* 5th February 1872 quoted in Samuel Cooper *The 1872 Education Act in Lanarkshire* (Hamilton: Hamilton College of Education, 1973) pp 39-40.

[37] Neill op cit pp 122-123.

[38] Ibid p 52.

[39] Ibid p 27.

[40] Annie Hamilton # 12.

[41] Carter op cit p 182.

[42] Kerr op cit p 210.

[43] Jamieson and Toynbee op cit interview with Mrs West [b 1921] p 107.

[44] Ibid p 107.

[45] Agnes Gell # 11.

[46] Susan Parman *Scottish Crofters: A Historical Ethnography of a Celtic Village* (Fort Worth: Holt, Rhinehart & Winston, 1990) p 89.

[47] Fiona MacDonald [ed] *Island Voices* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1992/1994) interview with Mary Coull p 37.

[48] Jamieson and Toynbee op cit interview with Mrs Gillies p 51.

[49] Christine James # 13.

[50] Flora MacDonald # 17.

[51] Elizabeth C Sherry *Highland and Other Jottings by Lizzie Kate* (Bishop Auckland: The Pentland Press, 1994) p 20 & James Pye *Invisible Children: Who are the Real Losers at School?* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) p 3.

[52] Jamieson cit pp 19-20.

[53] Jamieson and Toynbee op cit p 70.

[54] Ibid interview with Mrs Doughtie p 125.

[55] Bonnie S Anderson and Judith P Zinsser *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* vol II (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988) p 248.

[56] See Baldwin Ransom "Rural Education and Economic Development in China, Mexico, Japan and the United States" *Comparative Education Review* vol 32 no 2 1988.

[57] Jamieson and Toynbee op cit pp 213-214.

[58] Vivien Devlin [ed] *Motherhood from the 1920s to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1995) interview with Mary MacLennan p 16.

[59] Jamieson and Toynbee op cit p 9.

[60] Anderson *Universities* op cit p 32.

[61] Grant and Humes op cit pp 359-360.

[62] Robert Anderson "In Search of the 'Lad of Parts': The Mythical History of Scottish Education" *History Workshop Journal* vol 19 1985 pp 87-89.

[63] Ibid p 94.

[64] *The Scottish National Dictionary* (Edinburgh: The Scottish National Dictionary Association, 1965) vol 7.

Neither Anderson nor, to the best of my knowledge, any other recent author attempting to question the lad o' pairts idea ever discusses the derivation of the term. The older *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1808) vol I does not include pairt or part at all. The more recent *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press/Scottish Dictionaries Joint Council, 1983) vol V gives the possibility that pairt can be "talent" (one's talents being parts or aspects of oneself) but it is important to remember that the lad has pairts in *both* senses. He is a man of means - intellectual means and physical or financial means (albeit limited) especially in the shape of shares in a croft or farm. See also *The Concise Scots Dictionary* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1985) which concentrates on the pairt and pairts in the sense of share or means.

[65] A J Cronin *The Citadel* (London; New English Library, 1937/1983) pp 18-19.

[66] Ibid p 19.

[67] Grant and Humes op cit p 359.

[68] Anderson op cit "In Search of...." p 86.

[69] Isobel Murray and Bob Tait in *Ten Modern Scottish Novels* (1984) cited in Jones op cit p 100; see also Catherine Maclean "The Theory and Practice of Equal Opportunities in Scotland" *Scottish Affairs* vol I no 6 winter 1994 where it is at least acknowledged that "Something that is mythical is not necessarily false....[but] tends to have an inspirational function" and both the essentially literary and rural natures of the lad o' pairts are acknowledged - pp 38 & 40.

[70] Catriona Blake *The Charge of the Parasols: Women's Entry to the Medical Profession* (London: The Women's Press, 1990) Appendix III "Short Biographical Notes on Prominent Medical Women" pp 215-221; see also Jamieson and Toynbee op cit interview with Mrs Roberts pp 188-198 for a specific example of an early female doctor from a rural but wealthy background and Shiela Hamilton "Interviewing the Middle Class: Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities c 1910-1935" *Oral History* vol 10 no 2 autumn 1982.

[71] Grassic Gibbon op cit p 27.

[72] Jamieson and Toynbee op cit p 9.

[73] Pye op cit p 188.

[74] Isobel Kiffen #13.

[75] Archie Cameron *Bare Feet and Tackety Boots: A Boyhood on Rhum* (Barr: Luath Press, 1988/1990) pp 90-91.

This tutoring of a protégée went on outside normal hours, so it not clear that "the...help of a devoted teacher" *necessarily* made for "the concomitant neglect of...fellow pupils" - H M Paterson "Incubus and Ideology: The Development of Secondary Schooling in Scotland, 1900-1939" in idem et Walter Humes [eds] *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education: 1800-1980* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987) p 199.

[76] Stonham op cit in Street [ed] op cit p 98.

[77] Lewis Grassic Gibbon *A Scots Quair* (London: Pan Books, first published as a collection 1946/1982) pp 32-33.

[78] Ibid p 6.

[79] Ibid p 41.

[80] Ibid p 35.

Agricultural historian David Craig particularly defends the use of such works as *Sunset Song*, which he calls "novels of peasant crisis", as historical sources because sources dealing with the inner lives of the classes and cultures which they represent are otherwise lacking, see idem "Novels of Peasant Crisis" *Journal of Peasant Studies* vol 2 no 1 1974.

[81] Thompson op cit p 73.

[82] Internal HMI minute in Scottish Records Office, Edinburgh, [hereafter SRO] ED/7/8/2.

[83] See Alison Oram "Inequalities in the Teaching Profession: The Effect on Teachers and Pupils, 1910-1939" in Felicity Hunt [ed] *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

[84] Cameron op cit pp 88-91.

[85] Edwin Muir *An Autobiography* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1954/1993); see also, for example, George Mackay Brown "My Scotland: Orkney" *The Scottish Review* no 36 1985.

[86] These quotations have been extracted and compiled from various communications with the women, for more details of Miss Longbotham and the life she inflicted on her pupils, see David Limond "Never a Place of Safety? A Story of Teacher Abuse in an Orkney School c 1920s-1940s", paper presented at the Economic and Social History Society of Scotland conference, University of Dundee, April 1996.

[87] Thompson op cit p 68.

[88] Letter and petition to the SED from John Leask and six others ED/18/2960.

[89] Letter and petition to the SED from George Stout and three others and HMI's minute on the situation ED/18/2955; complaints from three or even six people may not sound significant but it must be borne in mind that this could easily represent all the families having school age children on an island.

[90] Stephen Humphries *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth, 1889-1939* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) compiled from maps of locations of school strikes in England and Scotland pp 94 & 96; though it is certainly detailed, Humphries's list of school strikes in his period is not definitive, it omits for example the strike against excessive corporal punishment led by Kathleen Tacchi-Morris [b 1899] at Acton Central School [c

1909], see Anne Smith [ed] *Women Remember: Oral History* (London: Routledge, 1989) pp 195-196.

[91] Robert Adams *Protests by Pupils: Empowerment, Schooling and the State* (London: Falmer Press, 1991) p 38.

[92] Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon [eds] *A Labour of Love: The Experience of Parenthood in Britain, 1900-1950* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1993) p 165.

In this third chapter I shall discuss unique and distinctive aspects of the schooling of Scottish Catholic girls from the 1870s to the 1940s. I shall concentrate primarily on the most recognisably female and Catholic of experiences, one denied to all non-Catholics and to Catholic boys, that of being taught by nuns. I shall attempt to outline key aspects in the relationships between Catholic girls and the nuns by whom they were taught (whether in convent schools or the many other Catholic schools to which nuns were attached as teachers). I shall also draw on the wider international context of the Catholic world for comparative purposes¹, and relate central developments in Catholic thought and teaching on personal and social matters to the Scottish female experience in the period in question. It will first be necessary to sketch the context of orthodox Catholicism and its conflict with secular state and social reform throughout Europe in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth.

The underlying decline of traditional organised religion in Europe since the onset of the industrial revolution is axiomatic amongst ecclesiastical historians. Owen Chadwick puts it simply: "In 1914, as compared with 1800 a lot more people in Europe refused to profess Christianity. Why? No one is yet sure." His own list of possible explanations includes medical technologies prolonging life and making death seem less and less of an immediate prospect; urbanisation and industrialisation cutting links with a natural religious sense derived from contact with nature through work on the land and "the coming of tolerance [which put].....religion in the market-place"². It has been argued that such definite pronouncements disregard the picture of religious belief and practice which comes from personal narratives and falsely assume that institutional decline in clerical religion is tantamount to popular loss of faith³. This need not mean that religious convictions have always been stronger in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than Chadwick imagines but that they may never have been as strong as he assumes. Thus if Catholic faith in late nineteenth and early twentieth century

Scotland was not as strong as the church desired it to be this may not entail a decline only an exaggerated belief in the strength of faith hitherto. David Hempton judges that Irish Catholic immigrants to Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries did not fall away but rather, in the first place, "many [came] from parts of Ireland where Mass-going was [already] a minority pursuit"⁴. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that the Catholic church hierarchy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries consistently *believed* that its fortunes in Europe were in decline and under threat. Under successive Popes from Pius IX [r 1846-1878] to Pius XII [r 1939-1958]⁵, the Catholic church waged war against socialism, communism, nationalism, liberalism, feminism and all that it considered disruptive of its traditional values.

The values which the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Catholic church thought to be under sustained attack by the forces of modernity were those which sustained the authority of the priest over the congregation; those long established in government over the governed; the employer over the employee; the husband over the wife and the parent or other adult over the child. In opposition to these disruptive doctrines it produced its own ideology of Christian Democracy which promised amelioration of the worst effects of social, economic, political and personal subordination in return for the complicity of subordinate populations in a substantially unchanged social order. These ideas were most fully worked out in Leo XIII's encyclical letter *Rerum novarum*⁶ which has come to be known as "The Workers' Charter". Though not generally new, the arguments in *Rerum novarum* were an attempt at codifying a distinctively Catholic approach to socio-economic and political issues. One of the most bitter rearguard actions fought by the hierarchy in this period was that against the growing feminist agitation for equal rights and opportunities in work, politics, marriage, family and education. *Rerum novarum* taught that "Reason....the civil laws....[and] Divine Law" all coincided in placing women under the authority of fathers and husbands⁷. "[T]he

family....is a true society"⁸ in which women could and should enjoy a natural satisfaction which they cannot know if they insist on competing for honours and advancement in male society. To some extent the church is acknowledged to have been successful in these efforts not simply by *extolling* the virtues of marriage and motherhood but by providing support structures for Catholic women such as the English Catholic Women's League (which did have a presence in Scotland despite its misleading name)⁹. "Catholicism offered many women stability and security. Few women became feminists or joined women's rights movements in Catholic European countries until very recently [ie the 1970s-1990s]"¹⁰. Fear that women in general and Catholic women in particular would prove politically conservative is credited with impeding the cause of womens' suffrage throughout Europe by making liberal, radical and socialist parties disinclined to support the suffrage cause for fear of the adverse effect this would have on their own electoral positions¹¹. (There is some evidence that this may have been true and that women did vote conservatively, certainly in the predominantly Catholic countries of Europe and in Germany in the inter war years¹².)

Related to the ideas of Catholic or Christian Democracy was the theology of Ultramontanism though the two were never one and the same. Originally arising amongst French Catholics as a doctrine of resistance to secular authorities which were often in conflict with the French church after the Revolution¹³, Ultramontanism insisted on the supremacy of Papal authority and disputed the legitimacy of state laws and actions which conflicted with Catholic teaching and conscience. (The mountains in question were the Alps between France and Italy - between the secular authority of governments in Paris and the spiritual authority of Popes in Rome.) Ultramontanism's conservative and uncompromising theology is contained principally in the *Collectio lancensis* the instrument by which the doctrine of Papal infallibility in moral and spiritual matters was established. In *Rerum novarum* and the principal subsequent encyclical on social matters

Quadragesimo anno the church showed what it was prepared to agitate for in the material world. In return for that agitation, Catholics in subordinate social and economic positions must remain true to the doctrinal demands the church made on them in *Collectio lancensis*. The 1867 Syllabus of Errors which denounced both false secular and theological ideas united the principles of Christian Democracy and Ultramontanism but *Rerum novarum* and *Collectio lancensis* were *quid pro quo*¹⁴. (Combined, they produced what has come to be known as clerical Fascism¹⁵ and in 1936 the Archbishop of St Andrews and Edinburgh called for prayers, especially from children, for the victory of the clerical Fascists led by Franco in Spain¹⁶.)

Specifically in the context of Catholic education, the 1929 encyclical of Pius XI *Divini illius magistri* condemns:

*Every method of education founded, wholly or in part, on the denial or forgetfulness of original sinSuch, generally speaking, are those modern systems [of education]....which appeal to a pretended self-government and unrestrained freedom on the part of the child, and which diminish or even suppress the teacher's authority*¹⁷.

Even more important than the authority of the teacher was that of the parent. In fact when it was first introduced in Britain, the very principle of legally mandated schooling (whether in a Catholic environment provided at the state's expense or not) was still considered a challenge to parents' natural authority over their children by some Catholics¹⁸. Authority challenged anywhere was authority challenged everywhere. Catholic schools were to emphasise respect for and deference to all hierarchical relations recognised by civil, natural and Divine law. Thus was the tone set for Catholic teaching and learning in the period from the

1870s to the 1940s (and beyond in fact till the liberal reforms associated with the Second Vatican Council in the 1960s.)

The present state of scholarship on Catholic history in Britain generally and Scotland specifically is healthy with the conspicuous success of journals such as *The Innes Review* and *Recusant History*, but only in a limited sense (a problem shared by Catholic historical scholarship in north America). The "premise of Catholic 'otherness'"¹⁹, it has been argued, has been too easily accepted by Catholic historians/historians of the Catholic experience (and the two are often one). This has produced a situation in which a limited range of supposedly especially Catholic topics have been explored at length and in depth while the concerns of the wider academic community have been disregarded as irrelevant to Catholic history²⁰. Introspective Catholic history can thus take on the appearance of antiquarianism, unconcerned with wider historical debates. In particular this may have led to the exclusion of issues of gender from Catholic history. Thus, on Catholics and education in Scotland, J H Treble, Bernard Aspinwall, Ian Stewart and T A FitzPatrick have all contributed extensively, but much still remains unknown about the female Catholic school experience.

Non-Catholic writers have not helped. Jane McDermid points out that the widely hailed collection of historical essays *Girls in Their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* edited by Fiona Paterson and Judith Fewell omits the distinctive Catholic female experience altogether²¹. Except in the context of the Magdalene hostels run by religious sisters to house and rehabilitate the young mothers of illegitimate children²² the relationships between girls and nuns in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scotland is a largely unbroached subject. Such nun/pupil relationships have however been explored to some extent in England²³, Ireland²⁴ and the USA²⁵ (in all of which countries Catholic history can still be antiquarian but less so than in Scotland). What follows is an attempt to

go some way to rectifying this deficit through using much the same types of personal narrative sources employed previously. However there will be more concentration on official or bureaucratic sources than before because understanding the differences in organisation and ethos between confessional Catholic and non-denomination state schools is critical in understanding certain key differences in experience.

Having been abjured at the time of Reformation in Scotland [1560] the Catholic church was only fully restored and its hierarchy reinstated by Rome in recognition of the normalising of church/state relations in 1878²⁶. In the immediate aftermath of the Reformation there were no Catholic schools anywhere in Scotland except in two of the last unreconstructed bastions of the faith in Barra and Invergarry²⁷. Only repeal of discriminatory anti-Catholic legislation in the 1820s made it possible for Catholic parents to have their children openly educated in Catholic schools with Catholics as teachers, teaching in a way consistent with Catholic values under the overall supervision of priests²⁸.

Increasing immigration of Irish Catholics to Scotland throughout the first half of the nineteenth century greatly expanded the need for such schools²⁹. The 1872 Act neither specifically included nor excluded the possibility of explicitly Catholic schools. However, the hierarchy remained unconvinced it could exercise sufficient influence over the teaching of Catholic children if Catholic parents simply shared the running of school boards with parents of other faiths or no faith at all. Even more than the possibility of losing its children through evangelical Protestant conversion, the church feared their loss to the spiritual apathy of agnosticism or the antagonism of atheistic secular ideologies³⁰. Thus from 1872 the church in Scotland, as in England from 1870, opted to continue financing and administering its own school system. This created the paradoxical situation that Catholic voters could elect members to school boards but received none of the locally raised rates

revenue distributed by those boards for the schools to which they sent their children. No less a figure than Henry Edward, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, made it quite clear that he thought the position unjust. "If the government may tax the whole people for education, the whole people have a right to share in the beneficial use of such taxation"³¹. But in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 the sun continued to shine on the justly as on unjustly taxed.

That there was widespread and deep poverty amongst the Catholics of Scotland especially those who were immigrants from Ireland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is axiomatic³². Thus the burden of sustaining a separate school system prior to 1918 was considerable and the quality of Catholic schooling from 1872 to 1918 remained notoriously low³³ and was particularly characterised by a poorly trained and poorly paid secular teaching staff in the schools not run by religious orders³⁴. There were also often very low rates of attendance as the poorest of Catholic parents (who were amongst the poorest of Scotland's population) kept their children away from school and set them to work in greater numbers than their Protestant counterparts³⁵. I deal in chapter six with the nature of girls' school non-attendance in greater detail.

This situation did improve significantly after 1918 when the church achieved the independence it wanted to direct life and learning in Catholic schools in Scotland without having to make the Faustian bargain it made with the Fascists in Italy in 1929³⁶. However, against the possibility that the 1918 Act might prove a disappointment, the Archdiocese of Glasgow kept ownership of its schools and retained responsibility for constructing new buildings. Finding enough money for the provision of elementary schools was legally required, but Catholic secondary school places could be rationed to avoid extra expense and thus were to remain in short supply for as long as the Archdiocese maintained this position. As the *Archdiocese* covered an area far greater than the *city* of Glasgow and

encompassed the principal centres of Catholic population (including Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire and some of northern Ayrshire³⁷) this policy touched the lives of a majority of Catholics until well into the 1930s when the arrangement lapsed *de facto* as these schools were sold to the locally elected authorities finally bringing full integration³⁸.

I turn now to the most distinctive aspect of Catholic schooling, relationships between nuns and their female pupils in Scotland's convent schools and the many other schools staffed largely by nuns between 1872 and 1945 as revealed primarily in personal narratives. Susan O'Brien has argued that "Nineteenth-century Catholicism would have been something quite different without the infrastructure provided by women religious"³⁹ and in the specific context of education, she elaborates this point saying:

*newly appointed bishops were creating a church structure ab initio, [so that] they looked automatically for help from women's congregations.....[which were] seen.....as vital to the maintenance of a separate Catholic identity within society*⁴⁰.

In the first instance, much of this support came from French teaching orders. The 'French connection' pre-dated 1878 but accelerated after the restoration of the hierarchy and James Handley has counted ten French teaching orders (counting male and female together) which established themselves in Scotland between 1835 and 1895⁴¹. Most importantly, this list includes the influential triumvirate of the congregations of Notre Dame de Namur, the Society of the Sacred Heart and the Ursulines of Jesus⁴². The most ancient teaching order⁴³ and long the most successful, the Ursulines had been the largest providers of girls' convent schooling in pre-Revolutionary France⁴⁴ and although expelled from their principal home during the Revolution⁴⁵ the presence of orders such as the Ursulines linked Scottish girls directly into the Catholic mainstream. (Though now stricken from

the calendar Ursula, who through a copyist's error is always credited with having had 11,000 companions when she had only eleven, was the patron of schoolgirls⁴⁶.) Why were female religious preferred for this work, what values were they expected to inculcate in the girls whom they taught and how did an education directed by nuns differ from any other?

Such is the self-deprecating nature of their vocation that nuns themselves do not usually leave personal narratives. Even in their privately published histories of orders, individuals "are [usually] not visible, other than as shadows"⁴⁷. Anonymity may almost be said to rank as a vow alongside those which are better known. (These are of course: poverty, chastity, obedience and a vow to teach on the part of the Ursulines; where relevant, silence and enclosure are rules but not vows.). It is not even easy to be very precise about the institutional history of specific convent schools as "each is so much bound up in the history of the teaching order, and the records even of these are scanty"⁴⁸. There is thus little record of nuns' version of their ideas on schools, pupils and teaching such as in the memoirs of A S Neill, John Kerr (as cited previously) or F G Rea⁴⁹. Also lacking is any great volume of autobiographical writing by nineteenth and twentieth century Scottish Catholic women⁵⁰. Further, while Muriel Spark may be the most famous literary convert to Catholicism since Gerard Manley Hopkins there is no fictional capturing of the Scottish convent experience to match *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* or Antonia White's finely observed fictionalised accounts of English convent school life⁵¹. (White's has in fact been called "the fullest description that we have of traditions and a way of life that had gone on for generations"⁵².) However, teaching orders aimed at uniformity in their convent schools across national boundaries and over time⁵³ and it is thus possible to make limited use of narratives of Catholic girls from furth of Scotland where these are available.

What can be said about the unique nature of those schools run directly and exclusively by nuns as opposed to the other Catholic schools in which they simply acted as teachers in support of the work of secular staff? Always having fewer boarding schools of any description than England⁵⁴, Scotland's 'convent experience' was less characterised by the total immersion in a Catholic life than was usually favoured by teaching orders⁵⁵ such as the Ursulines and the Sisters of Mercy - the latter being the first female teaching order to open a school in Scotland after the Reformation⁵⁶. By consulting editions of *The Catholic Directory for the Clergy and Laity in Scotland* at ten year intervals from 1872 to 1942 it is possible to build up a profile of the balance between convent boarding and day schools in Scotland between the 1870s and the 1940s⁵⁷.

Convent boarding schools were either exclusively concerned with teaching older girls or had sections for younger and older girls together of their own⁵⁸. There seem not to have been any residential convent schools for girls covering only the legally mandated school years. Most consistent in the provision of boarding places were the Ursulines (principally at St Margaret's Convent in Edinburgh) and the Sisters of Mercy (St Catherine's, also in Edinburgh) but the latter ran their boarding school in Dundee only in conjunction with a day school (which was even to become coeducational⁵⁹). The Notre Dame convent school in Glasgow remains associated in popular lore and imagination with the production of leading Catholic women (Meg Henderson aspired to study there and be part of the "little clique of top girls" from her school and all over Glasgow who did so⁶⁰) but it only ever offered a very limited number of boarding places. The same was true of the Notre Dame sisters' school at Clerkhill in Dumbarton where there were boarders, but day girls predominated⁶¹. There were boarding facilities at the St Thomas school in Edinburgh under the Sisters of Mercy but these were for girls in a specialised category - pupil teachers being used in desperation to fill the gaps in the city's Catholic teaching force.

Typically a Scottish convent school was exclusively a day school or had boarders and day girls mixed or at least operated a day school in parallel. The new St Vincent's convent boarding school at Lanark in 1882 had gone by 1892 and when the Convent of the Sacred Heart school opened in Aberdeen it offered both day and boarding places but emphasised its day school operations. Another new boarding establishment was apparently created in 1882 at Elmwood near Bothwell on the outskirts of Glasgow. This was in fact the boarding section of the Franciscan Convent of the Immaculate Conception which continued to operate in Glasgow as a day school only. A new Benedictine convent in Dumfries opened its doors as a boarding school in 1932 but seems to have gone the way of the Lanark school by 1942. The Charlotte Street convent school in Glasgow attracted girls from the towns of neighbouring Lanarkshire but it did not board them⁶². On a final count in 1942 there were eleven all female higher grade (that is, secondary) Catholic schools in Scotland and seven mixed higher grade schools. Precise information on the nature of these schools is scant but using the advertisements placed in *The Catholic Directory for the Clergy and Laity of Scotland* in 1942 it seems that only St Catherine's, St Margaret's, the Convent of Mercy in Dundee, Elmwood and the Sacred Heart Convent at Girvan took girls to board.

It is thus essential to note that some of the more picturesque but also most intense experiences of Catholic girls *living* and learning in convent schools in England as described by Antonia White and others are less likely to have been known in Scotland. These include such practices as rising quickly from bed each morning in an act of self sacrifice believed to ease the passage of a soul from purgatory or using calico tents fitted around baths to hide one's nakedness completely when washing⁶³. From the north American experience, Eileen Mary Brewer notes the informal homoerotic cults of female saints which girls' boarding convents seem to have spawned⁶⁴, and White also mentions girls adoring a nun to quite such an

extent that they imagined her a living saint⁶⁵. (I deal in chapter four with other homoerotic relationships and fantasies amongst school girls particularly in the context of the so called "burns" of girls' independent schools.) Generally lacking the convent boarding school environments in which such practices and phenomena flourished, the Scottish convent experience may have been somewhat muted by comparison. But what of the seemingly dominant theme stressed over and over in discussions of nuns and their pupils in convent schools and otherwise, the insistence on the strictest of discipline and the girls' absolute obedience?

Eileen Mary Brewer, in her study of school life for American Catholic girls between 1860 and 1920, has argued that the teaching orders had "every aspect of academy life under their control...to form the girls according to notions of true Catholic womanhood"⁶⁶. This is amplified in a similar study from Ireland which insists that "[a] strong will was only allowed to exist if it was formed carefully by the hands of [the nuns]"⁶⁷. And from England we hear that "obedience, self-control and abnegation of the self were supremely important"⁶⁸. However Bernard Aspinwall insists that nuns in Glasgow (the centre of Scotland's Catholic population) earned the respect and devotion of the girls whom they taught⁶⁹. Further, Brewer has been criticised for dwelling on discipline in American Catholic schools in too great detail and having "no discussion of the separate lessons that different girls might have picked up [from nuns] in the[ir schools]"⁷⁰.

Those who emphasise Catholic discipline at the hands of nuns as extreme point to the fact that orders such as the Ursulines and the Sisters of Mercy derived their methods from the Jesuits⁷¹ whose *ratio studiorum* which (though revised in the 1820s to include more and newer subjects⁷²) consistently emphasised discipline and order in life and learning through repetition. It was thus a technique which did not encourage questioning of what was being taught, how it was being taught or why it was being taught⁷³. Only the order of the Holy Child Jesus consistently

stood out as distinct amongst orders of female religious with a reputation for innovative methods⁷⁴, but while they did teach in England they appear always to have been absent from Scotland⁷⁵.

Certainly, Catholic elementary schooling in Scotland, especially pre-1918, has been described as "designed to last a lifetime [particularly in lessons].....on the practice of the Catholic religion....[but] not structured to provide....the equipment for reflection on the meaning of...religion"⁷⁶, but not even Catholic elementary schools were a monolithic block. Throughout Europe (including Scotland) many Catholic elementary schools adopted Montessori methods, with their stress on self-expression and the child's emotional joy in learning⁷⁷, in the 1920s and 1930s⁷⁸. The qualification "generally speaking" built into *Divini illius magistri* as quoted above seems to have been intended to exempt Montessori from the blanket condemnation of anti-authoritarian teaching. Thus even when it was at its fiercest, Catholic rhetoric on the need for authority and discipline was moderated in practice.

E R [b 1922] noticed the difference when she moved from the Catholic but non-Montessori school run by secular teachers at St Marks in the Tollcross area of Edinburgh to the care of nuns using Montessori's methods at Riddrie (Lanarkshire) in 1928⁷⁹. Mary M Galloway [b 1915] who was under the Notre Dame sisters from the days of her earliest schooling (first in St Patrick's School in Dumbarton then the convent higher grade school close by) till she went to university has no quarrels with her experiences amongst them⁸⁰. Born in the same year as Mary Galloway, Ellen J McHugh attended first a school run by secular Catholic teachers and then the Sisters of Mercy convent school at Lawside in Dundee. She too has nothing but praise for the nuns by whom she was taught⁸¹. H M [b 1908], also a product of the Notre Dame sisters, this time in Glasgow, is equally full of praise for their efforts on her behalf and can find no fault with their

discipline⁸². H M C [b 1928] studied under the Faithful Companions of Jesus first at St Mary's school in Queen Street in Paisley and later at St Margaret's Senior Secondary (not a convent school but run largely by nuns) also in Paisley, where she does not seem to have felt unduly oppressed⁸³. Of necessity, M M [b 1909] started her education in Glasgow in 1914 in a non-denominational board school⁸⁴ but thereafter she attended the Notre Dame higher grade school in the city (and later their teacher training college) and says she is left only with "pleasant happy memories"⁸⁵. Anne L O'Sullivan [b 1927] was wholly in the care of the Sisters of Charity at Lanark from the time of the death of her parents but she too will only praise them and their care both in bringing her up and providing her basic education⁸⁶. She moved later to Holyrood Senior Secondary in Glasgow but its staff were secular teachers.

In fact, albeit from a self-selecting sample of survey respondents, only Maureen M Donegan [b 1927] from Paisley stands out. She recalls her time under the Faithful Companions, first at St Catherine's from 1932 to 1939 and then St Margaret's from 1939 to 1944, as traumatic. For her, the nuns' methods were those of discipline by "public humiliation" so that she still finds she "can't bear to talk or write about it.....all these years later"⁸⁷. From another survey, Gimi Scappaticci [b 1924], who attended St Mary's Star of the Sea school in Leith for as much education as she ever had (no more than the legal minimum) and who was "taught partly by nuns....[and] partly by teachers who had no degree at all" recalls that "mainly you were taught to be a good Catholic"⁸⁸.

Differences in experience such as these must clearly be attributable to a variety of considerations ranging from home background to individual personality and the personalities of the nuns any particular girl encountered, but the assumption of universal victimisation is unwarranted. Drawing from her own intensive exposure to nuns and their methods, Antonia White insisted that spirits were not crushed no

matter that it might seem so from the outside looking in⁸⁹. Rather than concentrating on the idea of nuns as spirit crushing disciplinarians it may be more useful to consider their importance to the Catholic church in setting examples of devotion for the girls whom they taught. Devotion is surely the very hallmark of a nun's peculiar life. Certainly, as Susan O'Brien reminds us, nuns were vitally important as a physical labour force for schools especially during the hardest years when Catholics ran their own system⁹⁰, but their capacity to make an intangible but none the less substantial contribution to the church's efforts by teaching habits of devotion by example ought not to be overlooked. The Archbishop of Westminster, speaking in 1936, credited secular Catholic teachers with having "a priestly office"⁹¹ and urged them to inspire their pupils and teach by the examples of their own lives. A priest writing in the same year stressed the importance of clerics themselves setting the best of Catholic examples, especially in front of girls.

*Example alone.....[when it comes from a priest,
can do] what no amount of oratory in itself [can]
.....and this explains why many a poor Irish girl,
by the beauty of a virtuous life.....proved herself
an honour to her country'⁹².*

But for all these appeals to teachers and to priests the devotion to the church of nuns must surely have weighed most heavily in the minds of those girls who witnessed it. The devotion of nuns to Catholic life and values was greater than that of secular teachers and even for those girls who had no vocation themselves they may have seemed far more approachable and human figures than priests.

Other than generally cleaving to Catholic values, being a "stabilizing element...to nurture the family unit"⁹³ and accepting the bargain between the theological and the political and social teachings of the church described above, the measure of devotion the Catholic church in Scotland primarily needed from the girls whom it

educated was that as many of them as might be able should become teachers themselves. The official Catholic preference for members of the teaching orders to run schools was not shared in government and amongst the civil service as teaching monks and nuns had a tendency to be trained and qualified to the satisfaction of their order⁹⁴ (though not necessarily any the less qualified than 'ordinary' teachers for that), but not by state sanctioned routes. From the 1890s the church was under official pressure to develop a more orthodox teaching force⁹⁵. For H M, the sisters of Notre Dame were "highly devoted" and she became a teacher, impressed by their devotion⁹⁶. Women such as Mary M Galloway⁹⁷ and M M⁹⁸ (educated by the Notre Dame and Mercy Sisters respectively) regularly took the same route. The attraction of teaching as a profession for women with intellectual aspirations throughout Europe from the 1850s⁹⁹ as "a major high status employment"¹⁰⁰ is well known but this does not diminish a particularly Catholic and female interest in teaching as a response to devotion seen in the lives and work of teaching nuns.

However, it bears saying of the Scottish Catholic girls who took to teaching in such great numbers, especially after 1918, that they may have caused as many problems by doing so as they solved. The route from school as pupil to school as teacher became so well trodden by the end of our period that one erstwhile Catholic teacher describes it as a "let-out" which made for lower standards amongst Catholic girls of any intellectual aspiration and ability. They were at least guaranteed to be accepted as non-graduate entrants to primary teaching after a course of teacher training at either of the all female Catholic training colleges (Dowanhill in Glasgow and Craiglockhart in Edinburgh)¹⁰¹. Thus while their numbers may have gone some way to ameliorating the poor standards in Catholic schools by allowing smaller classes, the fact of their having settled for the minimum necessary standard in their own school learning may have contributed to

keeping standards low long after the financial problems of a self-supporting system had been eliminated.

In some cases, exposure to the example of the devotion of nuns might reach further than persuading a suitable girl to become a teacher. In these cases the end result might be that the girl discovered a vocation. Of the twenty-two girls in the first class to 'pass out' from Dowanhill in 1896 (having been examined by the autobiographical HMI John Kerr), three subsequently entered the religious life¹⁰². By contrast however, Franciscan nun and teacher Mother Philippa [b 1894] "knew nothing about nuns" as a child and came to her vocation only because "God directed my steps"¹⁰³. The business of vocation is deep and personal and I shall say nothing more about it here, but while nuns teaching girls may have let them know that "secular life...was only the wretched crust with which Catholics who were not called to the grace of the religious life must nourish themselves as best they could"¹⁰⁴, there can certainly be no serious suggestion that the monastic life was forced on girls schooled in Scotland between 1872 and 1945. Though such allegations were made in some protestant polemical literature from the 1850s till the 1950s¹⁰⁵, a Catholic autobiographer from New Zealand, Mary Catherine Goulter [b c 1880s] makes very strongly the point that nuns in her experience did not encourage, far less force vocations¹⁰⁶.

Be all of which as it may, the principally distinguishing aspect of schooling for Scottish girls in Catholic schools in the 1870s to the 1940s appears to have been the inspirational role played by nuns in producing successive generations of Catholic teachers. Whether a vicious or a virtuous spiral, this was certainly circular. Clearly much remains to be said on the subject of the Scottish Catholic female experience in Scotland between 1872 and 1945, but for so long as the sources remain deficient it must remain unsaid.

The very fact of such a deficiency of primary sources of the autobiographical type may well say much about the place of Catholic women in contemporary Scottish society. Are they unable or simply unwilling to produce autobiographical narratives? Do general social considerations contribute to keeping their stories secret? Is there some internal dynamic in Catholic life which makes them diffident and reluctant to value their experiences and share them publicly? There are certainly avenues of analysis here which might be pursued but as the body of material on the historical misogyny of the Catholic church is large (not to say vast) and often trenchant (not to say occasionally excessive) I shall confine my remarks here to limited claims.

It is - or ought to be - clear from all that has gone before in this chapter that the values of the Catholic church in Scotland in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth have stressed the authority of male - as husband/father/priest/teacher - over female- as wife/daughter/parishioner or nun/pupil. To such an extent was this true that the church in Scotland can rightly be labelled 'anti-feminist' - so far, so obvious. This anti-feminism issued forth in a clear depiction and teaching of the 'God-given'/'natural' domestic role of the woman. In the political arena outside of the home it issued forth in anti-suffrage agitation. In the context of schools it was emphasised through a myriad of hierarchical and conformist devices not least of which being the elevation of the submissive nun to the height of 'role model'. This is beyond doubt what Catholicism in Scotland in the period (and elsewhere) sold but it remains unclear if this is what Catholic girls bought. The available evidence is worryingly slight ('why have so few Scottish Catholic women written autobiographies?' might be a thesis topic in its own right for an enquiring feminist researcher intent on making her [or his?] own mark) but it is surely worth closing this chapter by emphasising the capacity of Catholic girls in Scotland in our period (indeed girls from all manner of backgrounds in all manner of countries in all time) to pilot their own

courses through the obstacles - visible, semi-submerged and fully submerged - placed in their ways. Afterall, anyone who can recognise that her schooling was aimed largely at making her a 'good Catholic girl' cannot have been entirely duped by that schooling.

NOTES

[1] See, for example, Mary Catherine Goulter *Schoolday Memories* (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, 1922) [New Zealand]; Mary McCarthy *Memories of a Catholic Girlhood* (London: Heinemann, 1957) [pacific north-west of the USA] & Juliet M Soskice *Chapters from Childhood: Reminiscences of an Artist's Granddaughter* (London: George Prior, 1921/1972) [England].

[2] Owen Chadwick "Christianity Since 1800: Great Britain and Europe" in John McManners [ed] *The Oxford History of Christianity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990/1993) pp 352-353.

[3] See David Hempton "Popular Religion in Scotland: 1800-1986" in Terence Thomas [ed] *The British: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (London: Routledge, 1988) & Hugh McLeod "New Perspectives on Victorian Working-Class Religion: The Oral Evidence" *Oral History* vol 14 no 1 spring 1986.

[4] David Hempton "Religious Life in Industrial Britain: 1830-1914" in Sheridan Gilley and W J Shiels [eds] *A History of Religion in Britain: Practice and Belief from Pre-Roman Times to the Present* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1994) p 313.

[5] The complete lists of Papal reigns covering the period 1872 to 1945 is given below.

PIUS IX - 1846-1878

LEO XIII - 1878-1903

PIUS X - 1903-1914

BENEDICT XV - 1914-1922

PIUS XII - 1939-1958

[6] *The Encyclical Rerum novarum: The Workers' Charter* (Oxford: Catholic Social Guild, 1891/1947).

[7] Ibid pp 17-18.

[8] Ibid p 17.

[9] Paula M Kane "'The Willing Captives of Home?': The English Catholic Women's League, 1906-1920" *Church History* vol 60 1991.

[10] Bonnie S Anderson and Judith P Zinsser *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* vol II (Hardmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988) p 355.

In contrasting the various experiences of women in Scotland in the Protestant and (primarily immigrant Irish) Catholic communities, a contrary argument is put by Kay Carmichael. She emphasises "the pain and humiliation that women have often endured under the banner of a [Scottish] male Protestant church" but, in an article characterised by its tendency towards sweeping generalisation and partisan

romantics ("Roman Catholic families from Ireland....[had a] value system [which] was non-competitive, interdependent, libidinal and linked to rhythms of nature") there is little scope for the subtlety of the Anderson and Zinsser case which argues only for a contingent and not a necessary relationship between Protestantism and personal and intellectual liberty for European women - see Kay Carmichael "Protestantism and Gender" in Graham Walker and Tom Gallagher [eds] *Sermons and Battle Hymns: Protestant Culture in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990) pp 220 & 230.

[11] Ibid p 368.

[12] Ibid pp 368 & 497 note [55].

[13] James Bowen *A History of Western Education* vol III (London: Methuen & Co, 1981) pp 248-249.

[14] Extracts from *Collectio lacensis* [1870], *Ineffabilis deus* [1854], *Quadragesimo anno* [1931] and The Syllabus of Errors [1867] re-printed in Henry Bettenson [ed] *Documents of the Christian Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1943/1963).

[15] D S Lewis *Illusions of Grandeur: Mosley, Fascism and British Society, 1931-1981* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987) p 215.

[16] *The Tablet* 26th September 1936.

[17] *Divini illius magistri* [1929] quoted in Bowen op cit p 438.

[18] Joan Bland "The Impact of Government on English Catholic Education: 1870-1902" *The Catholic Historical Review* vol LXII no 1 January 1976 p 38.

[19] Leslie Woodcock Tentler "On the Margins: The State of American Catholic History" *American Quarterly* vol 45 no 1 March 1993 p 105.

[20] Ibid p 116.

[21] Jane McDermid "Placing Women in Scottish History" [book review] *Journal of Women's History* fall 1992 p 182; Fiona M S Paterson and Judith Fewell [eds] *Girls in Their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990).

[22] Barbara Littlewood and Linda Mahood "Prostitutes, Magdalenes, Wayward Girls: Dangerous Sexualities of Working Class Women in Victorian Scotland" *Gender and History* vol 3 no 2 1991.

[23] Susan O'Brien "'Terra Incognita': The Nun in Nineteenth Century England" *Past & Present* no 121 November 1988; idem "10,000 Nuns: Working in Convent Archives" *Catholic Archives* no 9 1989 & idem "Lay-Sisters and Good Mothers: Working-Class Women in English Convents, 1840-190" in W J Shiels and Diana

Woods [eds] *Studies in Church History: Women in Church* (London: Blackwell/The Ecclesiastical History Society, 1990).

[24] Catriona Clear *Nuns in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1987).

[25] Eileen Mary Brewer *Nuns and the Education of American Catholic Girls: 1860-1920* (Chicago: Loyola Press, 1987).

[26] Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt [eds] *A Companion to Scottish History* (London: B T Batsford, 1989) p 36.

[27] Brother Kenneth *Catholic Schools in Scotland: 1872-1972* (Edinburgh [?]: Catholic Education Commission, 1972) p 7.

[28] Ibid p 7.

[29] Donnachie and Hewitt op cit p 36, & Michael Lynch *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1992/1994) p 404.

[30] J H Treble "The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland: 1878-1978" in David McRoberts [ed] *Modern Scottish Catholicism: 1878-1978* (Glasgow: Scottish Catholic Historical Association/*The Innes Review*/John S Burns & Sons, 1979) p 111.

[31] Henry Edwards "Is The Education Act of 1870 a Just Law?" *The Nineteenth Century* December 1882 reprinted in idem *Miscellanies* vol II (London: Burns & Oates, 1888) p 5.

[32] Lynch op cit pp 404-405; Treble op cit p 112; Donnachie and Hewitt p 36; Brother Kenneth op cit p 10; George Rosie "Religion" in Magnus Linklater and Robin Denniston [eds] *Anatomy of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Chambers, 1992) p 93 & Mary Lennon, Marie McAdam and Joanne O'Brien [eds] *Across the Water: Irish Women's Lives in Britain* (London: Virago Press, 1988) pp 22-23.

Note however that while most Catholic immigrants to Scotland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were Irish, appreciable numbers came from Italy and Catholic Lithuania, though the latter often came to be known as Poles in the communities in which they settled, especially in the mining villages of Lanarkshire. See, for example, Murdoch Rodgers "The Lanarkshire Lithuanians" in Billy Kay [ed] *Odyssey* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1980).

[33] Treble op cit pp 120-123 & Brother Kenneth pp 10-11.

[34] T A FitzPatrick "Scottish Catholic Teacher Education: the Wider Context" *The Innes Review* vol XLV no 2 autumn 1994 pp 160-161; some of the material in this article is worked out at greater length in idem *No Mean Service: Scottish Catholic Teacher Training, a Centenary Celebration* (Glasgow: St Andrew's College/John S Burns & Sons, 1995).

[35] Martha Skinnider "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow: 1818-1918" in T R Bone [ed] *Studies in the History of Scottish Education* (London: The Scottish Council for Research in Education/University of London Press, 1967) p 27.

[36] Anthony Scarangelo "Church and State in Italian Education" *Comparative Education Review* vol 5 no 3 1962.

[37] Treble op cit 113.

[38] See also J H Treble "The Working of the 1918 Education Act in the Glasgow Archdiocese" *The Innes Review* vol XXXI no 1 spring 1980.

[39] O'Brien op cit "'10,000 Nuns'" p 27; much the same point is made in the north American context in Woodcock Tentler op cit pp 107-108.

[40] O'Brien op cit "'Terra Incognita'" pp 115.

[41] James E Handley "French Influence on Scottish Catholic Education" *The Innes Review* vol I no 1 1950 p 27.

[42] Mark Dilworth "Religious Orders in Scotland: 1878-1978" *The Innes Review* vol XXIX no 1 spring 1978 Appendix: Orders of Women pp 103-107.

[43] Gillian Avery *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1991) p 188.

[44] Bowen op cit p 121.

[45] Avery op cit p 189.

[46] David Hugh Farmer [ed] *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) p 419.

[47] O'Brien "'10,000 Nuns'" op cit p 27.

[48] Avery op cit p 173.

[49] John Lorne Campbell [ed] *F G Rea: A Schoolmaster in South Uist, Reminiscences of a Hebridean Schoolmaster, 1890-1913* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1964).

[50] The lack of female Catholic autobiographers seems to extend to England as well. Tom Gammage's "Autobiography as a Source for the Educational Historian: A Select Bibliography" lists many autobiographical works of relevance to various school experiences (other than public schools) in England. While admitting that it is not a definitive collection it contains only one reference to a specifically female and Catholic autobiography (Juliet M Sosicke's 1922 *Chapters from Childhood*).

[51] Antonia White *Frost in May* (London: Desmond Harmsworth, 1933); see also the short story "The Saint" in idem *Strangers* (London: Virago, 1954/1981) and her non-fictional autobiographical fragment "A Child of the Five Wounds" in Graham Greene [ed] *The Old School: Essays by Divers Hands* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934).

The novels of Patrick MacGill are widely considered to be insightful and intimate portraits of Catholics and particularly Irish Catholics in Scotland in the nineteenth century but none of his works have direct relevance here.

[52] Avery op cit p 173.

[53] Dilworth op cit pp 96-97 ; Avery op cit pp 173-174 7 & McCarthy op cit pp 75-77.

McCarthy [b 1912] is amongst the principal sources for personal narratives of Catholic childhood and education in the USA and she particularly emphasises the *universal* components which often made a Catholic schooling directed by nuns anywhere very much like a Catholic schooling directed by the same order anywhere else.

[54] Peter Jones "Education" in Linklater and Denniston op cit p 107 & G A Osborne *Scottish and English Public Schools: A Comparative Survey of the Past Fifty Years* (London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1966) p 236.

[55] Avery op cit p 172 & Goulter op cit pp 7-8.

[56] M Imelda King *Sisters of Mercy of Great Britain: 1839-1978* (Glasgow: The Sisters of Mercy, 1978).

[57] See *The Catholic Directory for the Clergy and Laity in Scotland* [hereafter *Catholic Directory*] (Edinburgh: J & A Grady, 1872) pp 135-137; *Catholic Directory* (Edinburgh: J Chisolm, 1882) pp 148-151; *Catholic Directory* (Edinburgh: W Macpherson, 1892) pp 207-211; *Catholic Directory* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1902) pp 217-222; *Catholic Directory* (Edinburgh: Sands & Co, 1912) pp 188-194; *Catholic Directory* (Edinburgh: Sands & Co, 1922) pp 210-211; *Catholic Directory* (Edinburgh: Sands & Co, 1932) pp 230-231 & *Catholic Directory* (Glasgow: J S Burns & Sons, 1942) pp 280-281.

Parallel day and boarding schools for Catholic girls may have been more common in Scotland but they were no unknown in England. See, for example, Soskice op cit pp 106-107.

[58] Apparently only the Marist Brothers have ever run a Catholic preparatory school for younger children in Scotland but that for boys only.

[59] By 1932 they were running three coeducational higher grade schools, not the first but one of only two orders of female religious in Scotland to have done so

(the Sisters of the Cross and Passion being the other). By 1942 they had however abandoned the field of coeducation to secular staff and of all the religious orders in Scotland, only the Marists Brothers continued to operate mixed schools.

[60] Meg Henderson *Finding Peggy: A Glasgow Childhood* (London: Corgi Books, 1994) p 141; see also idem "Nuclear Reactions" *The Scotsman* 13th March 1995 in which she is very critical of the Sisters of Mercy to whose convent at Garnethill she was sent and the story of 'Notre Dame girl' Marcella Evaristsi [b c 1950s] in Jackie Bennet and Rosemary Forgan [eds] *There's Something About a Convent Girl* (London: Virago, 1991) pp 79-84.

[61] Mary M Galloway # 2 [rc].

[62] Thomas A FitzPatrick "Catholic Secondary Education in South-West Scotland: 1922-1972" unpublished PhD thesis University of Glasgow vol III interview with Josephine Small (erstwhile principal teacher of Modern Languages, Charlotte Street) p 12. See also idem *Catholic Education in South-West Scotland Before 1972* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).

I am grateful to Dr FitzPatrick for allowing me to use this unpublished material and sharing his knowledge of Catholic schools with me.

[63] White op cit "A Child...." in Greene [ed] op cit p 231.

[64] Brewer op cit pp 91-93.

She cites the particular examples of Agnes, Juliana and Cecilia as wealthy, beautiful, aristocratic virgin saints who submitted to martyrdom rather than rape as particularly fascinating to cloistered American Catholic girls. See McCarthy op cit p 105 & Eileen J Stenzel "Maria Goretti: Rape and the Politics of Sainthood" *Concilium* no 1 1994 for a liberal, feminist Catholic critique of the effects of the cults of martyred and raped saints on girls. See also Soskice op cit p 112.

[65] White op cit "The Saint"; see also Avery op cit pp 178-179 & Mary Hazel Hastings "Christmas at Stanbrook in 1904" *The Downside Review* vol 108 no 370 January 1990 for examples of other practices associated with the hothouse intensity of the lives of Catholic girl boarders.

[66] Brewer op cit p 98.

[67] Clear op cit p 123.

[68] Avery op cit p 176.

[69] Bernard Aspinwall "The Church as Maker of the Ultramontane" in Diana Wood [ed] *The Church and Childhood* (London: Blackwell/The Ecclesiastical History Society, 1994) p 437.

[70] Jo Ellen McNergney Vinyard untitled review of Brewer op cit *History of Education Quarterly* vol 28 no 4 winter 1988 p 671.

[71] McCarthy op cit p 75.

[72] Bowen op cit p 316 & McCarthy op cit p 75.

[73] Ibid p 24.

[74] Lorna M Bowman "Women's Religious Education: Liberation or Socialization? A Case Study" *Religious Education* vol 88 no 1 winter 1993 & Avery op cit pp 184-186.

[75] Dilworth op cit Appendix & *Catholic Directories* op cit various years.

[76] FitzPatrick op cit *Catholic Secondary Education* p 49.

[77] See, for example, Maria Montessori *The Advanced Montessori Method: Spontaneous Activity in Education* Florence Simmonds and Lily Hutchinson [transl] (London: William Heinemann, 1917).

Pace George Orwell and the organised spontaneous demonstrations of devotion to Comrade Napoleon, a system or method for spontaneous teaching and learning may be a contradiction in terms.

[78] Bowen op cit pp 401-402.

[79] E R # 9 [rc].

[80] Mary M Galloway #2 [rc].

[81] Ellen J McHugh #3 [rc].

[82] H M #4 [rc].

[83] H M C #5 [rc].

[84] This was a not uncommon arrangement in areas where Catholic poverty was greatest or circumstances most difficult and one which displays a considerable degree of 'give and take' on both sides, see, for example, Treble op cit "The Development...." pp 115-116.

[85] M M #7 [rc].

[86] Anne L O'Sullivan #8 [rc].

[87] Maureen M Donegan #1 [rc].

[88] Gimi Scappaticci Leith Lives Collection. Huntly House Museum, Edinburgh transcript O/9 p 9.

[89] White "A Child...." op cit pp 233-234.

[90] Ian Stewart argues also that "the resources of teaching orders were what made Scottish voluntary Catholic schools financially viable until....1918" idem "Teacher Careers and the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh" *The Innes Review* vol XLVI no 1 1995 p 64.

[91] *The Tablet* 2nd December 1936.

[92] P Ivers Rigney "Education by Contacts" *The Irish Ecclesiastical Record* vol 48 1936 pp 61-62.

[93] Aspinwall op cit p 430.

[94] Notre Dame nuns in particular were not allowed to attend universities, colleges or breach their rule of enclosure in any way by leaving the convent/school; see Brewer op cit p 42.

[95] FitzPatrick "Scottish Catholic...." op cit p 160, & Stewart op cit p 64.

[96] H M op cit (Maths teacher).

[97] Mary M Galloway (English teacher).

[98] M M (primary teacher and secondary English).

[99] Anderson and Zinsser op cit p 195.

[100] Alison Oram "Inequalities in the Teaching Profession: The Effects on Teachers and Pupils, 1910-1930" in Felicity Hunt [ed] *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Women and Girls, 1850-1950* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987) p 122.

[101] FitzPatrick op cit thesis vol III interview with Patrica M Murray p 8.

[102] Ibid interview with Mother Philippa pp 5-6.

[103] FitzPatrick "Scottish Catholic...." p 165 & note [1] on p 165.

[104] Avery op cit p 179.

[105] See Steve Bruce *No Pope of Rome: Anti-Catholicism in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1985) especially pp 128-131.

[106] Goulter op cit pp 47-49.

I turn now to another experience which may seem to represent that of a numerically small group of Scottish girls between 1872 and 1945. Writing in 1931 an SED official assured a colleague at the English Board of Education that "private schools occupy a very small place in the educational system of Scotland"¹, but as with both the Catholic and the rural experiences, there may be important differences in the stories of girls attending independent schools. In itself these distinct experiences would be interesting but more importantly they must be understood before the urban, state financed and overwhelmingly Protestant mainstream experience to which they are distinct can be fully appreciated. Only when the exceptions are noted can the rules be appreciated. In the chapter which follows I shall look for distinctive aspects of girls' independent schools and the experience they offered their pupils. I shall also examine their own claim to be educationally unique in fulfilling a vanguard role in improving the social, political and educational position of all women by providing a female leadership class and I shall examine their effect on all girls through the genre of 'school stories'. I turn first to a general discussion of the history and nature of independent schools in Scotland which expands on that offered previously and which particularly concentrates on girls' schools.

Though few in number, it is not possible to offer a completely definitive list of schools for girls operating in Scotland outwith the control of locally elected boards or education authorities in the period 1872 to 1945. Some have distinguished and continuous histories which can be traced back before 1872 such as Mary Erskine's school [founded as the Merchant Maidens' Hospital, 1664²] and others, while having less antiquity can be equally easily traced from some founding date to the present, such as Wellington School near Ayr [1836³]. Others can be traced from a founding date to a date of merger⁴ and thence to the present; or from a founding date to a date of closure such as Lansdowne House School in Edinburgh which closed in 1950⁵. In other cases however, small, less

prestigious schools have come and gone and left little trace at all. Thus Anna Buchan [b 1877], sister of John but a writer in her own right (under the pen name "O Douglas"), attended both the well established, highly respected and historically well documented Hutcheson's Girls Grammar in Glasgow [founded 1873⁶] and another school in Edinburgh. This latter was so small and insignificant that neither she⁷, nor her original⁸ nor her most recent biographer⁹ so much as records its name. Anna Buchan's school in Edinburgh was for girls aged over the school leaving minimum as was the school in Broughty Ferry near Dundee attended by Eugenie Fraser [b 1906] when her family arrived in Scotland fleeing anti-landlord vengeance in Revolutionary Russia¹⁰, but many other small schools which have vanished in this way were for younger children. M Mack [b 1930] whose father was a member of the Independent Labour Party and even a candidate for it in a local election despite being a wealthy import/export agent was brought up on the outskirts of Paisley and began her formal education in a private primary or preparatory school so small that she recalls it serving only a handful of reasonably wealthy families living in its immediate vicinity¹¹. Other examples of small, private schools for younger children in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are recorded by Mary G Clarke [b 1881] in Aberdeen¹² and Beatrice M M Urquhart [b 1923] from Forfar¹³. However, no precise count of such schools is possible as they came and went with some regularity. "The survival rate of schools like these, where the proprietors were only in the business to make a living.....was very low indeed"¹⁴.

It is however possible to characterise three types of school outwith locally elected control which *can* be listed and enumerated. First - the erstwhile endowed hospitals (such as the Merchant Maidens' Hospital and Hutcheson's) whose transformation to selective schools we discussed previously. Second - schools founded since the mid-nineteenth century which have more or less closely followed the pattern of English girls' public schools (such as St George's [founded

1888¹⁵] and St Leonard's [founded 1877¹⁶]]. Finally - those originally founded as money making ventures but which transformed themselves and became more like the more distinguished schools of the other two categories than the proprietary schools described above. This last category includes St Trinneans in Edinburgh, inspiration for the fictional *St Trinians* of immortal memory¹⁷, and R D Anderson cites Edinburgh Academy as an example of an erstwhile proprietary boys school which has climbed in status to become one of the most highly regarded self-governing schools in Scotland¹⁸. Taken over all, self-governing schools for girls in Scotland have less often taken boarders than their counterparts in England¹⁹ and have more often been coeducational, at least in the respect of taking in pre-pubescent boys or having parallel male and female schools. Both James Gillespie's in Edinburgh²⁰ and The Park School in Glasgow long took young boys as well as girls - including John Reith of BBC fame in the case of the latter²¹. It is however the older endowed schools and erstwhile hospitals which most often fit this pattern of being day schools with a coed element, putting Gillespie's [founded 1797 for the children of destitute Edinburgh merchants] or Hutcheson's Girls' Grammar [founded 1873 as an adjunct to a hospital/school for boys founded, 1648] at the far end of the organisational spectrum from the all-girls St Leonard's boarding school in St Andrews. Certainly coeducation along the lines of Gillespie's/The Park seem to have been unknown in England's girls' self-governing schools before 1945, though parallel male and female institutions did emerge in the nineteenth century as at King Edward VI School in Birmingham²².

The girls' independent schools of Scotland at the Gillespie's, Park or Hutcheson's end of the spectrum thus always more closely resembled the "high schools founded by local groups of campaigners for women's education....launched on a flood-tide of enthusiasm....[in] the 1870s and 1880s"²³ at such places as Chelsea, Notting Hill, Croydon and Oxford²⁴ than the English girls' public schools. Many

did however differ from the English high schools in being often more ancient (as in the case of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital/Mary Erskine's School) or being derived from more ancient institutions (as in the case of Hutcheson's Girls' Grammar). Further, following the pattern of the old burgh schools they very often took pupils from the earliest age to the completion of their school studies in their teens. Miss Brodie taught the final junior year class at the Marcia Blaine School for girls aged around ten and eleven²⁵. Thus they remained distinctively Scottish in various respects and St George's School in Edinburgh, though a day school, is credited with having been one of the first self-governing school for girls established in Scotland to have been quite specifically patterned after English precedents "and like St Leonard's....(a boarding school run on English lines) it stands apart from other Scottish schools"²⁶. As the Ursuline teaching order linked Scotland's Catholic girls to a mainstream of Catholic educational tradition and practice, so St Leonard's linked those Scottish girls whose parents could afford to send them there to a mainstream of *English* practice. Even more so than St George's, St Leonard's was created as and remains Scotland's public school for girls. But though St George's official historian attempts to carve out a role for it which places it in "the lead at every advance of the women's educational movement in late nineteenth century Scotland"²⁷ it certainly much more closely resembles the conservative and English oriented St Leonard's in its history and organisation²⁸. Its most famous pupil Marie Stopes [b 1880] was removed after only a very short time there as her mother, an educationally concerned feminist of some standing, was unhappy at the school's methods and results²⁹. The young Marie was subsequently transferred to the more explicitly progressive North London Collegiate School [founded 1850³⁰].

The distinction between the girls' high schools (as at Chelsea, Oxford, Wigan or in the North London Collegiate school - "the mother" of all girls' high schools³¹) and the public school style of organisation (as most obviously at Rodean) is

important because it is to the latter rather more than the former that Sara Delamont's searching criticisms of the girls' independent schools founded in the nineteenth century apply. Delamont takes issue with the idea of girls' public schools as a broadly progressive force - which may be called the received wisdom or the encyclopaedia version of events³² - and contends that many girls' independent schools functioned more as institutions which bolstered gender divisions than as the front line in the destruction of those divisions which they have often claimed and still claim themselves to be. Early compromise on the part of girls' school pioneers, Delamont argues, led to irreparable damage to their own cause:

[I]mbued with the desire to compete for equal educational goals on equal terms with men, yet unable to shake off the fear of being characterised as unladylike, or worse still, unfeminine, the [girls' school] pioneers fell into an inevitable trap - the snare of double conformity³³.

By this Delamont means that the girls' independent schools patterned after the esteemed boys' public schools, intended to be a solution to the problem of producing liberal reform without provoking conservative backlash, brought progress neither in changing gender roles nor class structures. Thus Rodean ("the most extreme example of the girls' public school"³⁴), Wycombe Abbey and similar high profile girls' schools went down a very particular organisational road and certainly did nothing to challenge existing class relations through their promotion of limited individual achievement by established means and standards. Joyce Senders Pedersen has expanded on this theme and bears quotation at length.

Consistent with their distinctive conception of society as a collectivity of individuals, liberal feminists' analyses of women's education focused on the rights or interests of individual women and

their individual male associates or on the interests of society as a whole. They had little to say concerning the differing educational interests of different socio-economic groups. On the contrary, insofar as they touched upon the matter, their assumption was that reforms which benefited individual women of the propertied classes would work to the benefit of all..... at least in the long run.....Predicated on an expanding economy of happiness and intellectual and moral well-being, their analysis in effect denied the existence of any ultimate [original emphasis] conflict of interest either as between the sexes or different groups of women³⁵.

The only change the girls' public schools offered was change from *within* and change from *above*. This is Delamont's bind of "double conformity" or, perhaps more simply put, 'wanting it both ways at once'. Schools could bring about no change in gender roles because they would not accept change in class roles. The women produced by these schools would remain 'ladies' in both the distinctive gender and class sense of that word. Delamont and Senders Pedersen differ slightly in their arguments.

Delamont has the girls' school pioneers falling into a trap or being compromised by the effects of their actions and decisions; Senders Pedersen has them focusing their analysis on the effects of actions and decisions which they seem to understand well enough. For Delamont, the girls' school pioneers *needed* to use existing styles of school organisation and to work within existing social assumptions. For Senders Pedersen³⁶, it is more the case that they *wanted* to do so. However a hybrid of the two arguments³⁷ can put aside the question of intent and accept simply that in choosing as their models the most obvious institutions of class/gender power and privilege (the boys' public boarding schools) they implicitly legitimised those institutions. From the point of view of the girls attending these schools it need not have mattered whether those who founded and ran their schools were forced into or implicitly accepted this position.

All of this was true to some extent of *all* girls' independent schools but it was most conspicuous in the case of those which were most slavishly imitative of the boys public schools - particularly in boarding their pupils. The girls' high schools in England and (in the main) the girls' independent schools of Scotland are not free of these criticisms but they are open to them only in a lesser degree. I return presently to the overall *effects* or implications of these organisational differences for the social position of Scottish women as a whole and I turn shortly to the differences in *experience* born of these differences but pause now to consider the quantity and quality of available sources.

Finding sources for studying girls' experiences in schools in any of the various categories represented in the notional spectrum suggested above contains unique problems. Tom Gammage's collection "Autobiography as a Source for the Educational Historian: A Select Bibliography"³⁸, although not directly relevant for present purposes as it contains only English material, specifically excludes autobiographies of those who have attended public schools (in the English sense of that term). This is apparently on the grounds of his assumption that the members of the classes who attend such select schools are more than well enough represented in the ranks of autobiographers and thus need no special effort made on their part to bring them to the attention of the interested researcher. However, while it may be legitimate to assume an abundance of sources in this way for *men* in general and even *English men* in particular there are distinct limits on the number of *Scottish female* independent school experiences which have been recorded autobiographically. There is of course *a* very famous and important autobiographical novel, though its author has been accused by Angus Calder (who rather wittily calls her "Miss Jean Brodie's.....biographer") of missing vital aspects of Edinburgh life at the time³⁹. However this is perhaps somewhat harsh as, while the historian can learn from the autobiographical novelist, the direction of the novelist's concern is always inwards to the personal rather than outwards to

the political or public. Fortunately there is at least one other vitally important source in autobiographical fiction in the shape of Catherine Carswell's unduly neglected classic *The Camomile*⁴⁰ which has a very significant, if limited, role to play in what follows.

There *are* autobiographies of prominent Scottish women educated in private schools available but there can be problems of relevance where these are concerned. Marx said that the working class have no fatherland, but at first blush it seems easier to apply this thought to aristocrats and members of the upper middle class. They it is who have most often and most freely moved between countries; they it is who have most often married into nations or cultures not their own, and they it is who have most often sent their children to be schooled elsewhere. In the case of Scotland, this has generally meant sending children - male or female - to England⁴¹. Thus female, Scottish, privately educated and an autobiographer thought she may have been, such a woman as Wendy Wood, (long time and passionate if fringe nationalist campaigner) is lost to this study by virtue of having been schooled in colonial South Africa⁴². Naomi Mitchison, another privately educated, female autobiographer though long associated with Scotland must equally be excluded as she was born, brought up and schooled (at the progressive Dragon School, Oxford) in England⁴³. The situation is reversed with Margaret Haig, one of the best known and most important female autobiographers to record her experiences of life in a Scottish self-governing school (in this case St Leonard's) who was the Viscountess Rhondda and thus hardly Scottish (though whether or not she was Welsh is equally moot)⁴⁴. Finally in the matter of peculiar problems with sources, many school histories are available but they can be turgid, uncritical and are often "the work of antiquaries and devoted alumni"⁴⁵ with rather more of the antiquarian's *collection* of material than the historian's *selection*.

I turn now to consider aspects of the experience of being a girl in one of Scotland's self-governing schools between 1872 and 1945. As with the Catholic experience, attendance at a Scottish independent school was more often reserved for the daytime only than in England. Their girls were not generally boarders and they had homes and lives outside their schools. This lack of boarding schools may be attributed to the dislike of the Catholic-leaning collegial or monastic life described by Anderson and Davie and noted previously. It should however be noted that the Church of Scotland did have its own boarding school in Edinburgh for the daughters of ministers holding charges in the most isolated rural parishes⁴⁶. Thus, again as with the Catholic experience, many of the more feverish aspects of life usually associated with girls' schools in England may have been lacking in Scotland. It is thus perhaps particularly ironic that Edinburgh's St Trinnean's should have been transformed into the fictional St Trinian's and should play such a part in the popular imagination. In particular there is little evidence of the adolescent same-sex affairs, relationships or associations known variously as "burns", "crushes", "flames" or "raves". I turn next to developing an analytical framework for understanding this phenomenon in England before coming to consider what evidence there might be of its existence in Scotland.

That there has long been a homoerotic sub-culture in English boys' boarding schools has equally long been an open secret. The rum may have been missing but the lash of official discipline and the unofficial practice of sodomy have not been. Writing in the early 1900s, essayist G W E Russell tells us that "with regard to the Public Schools, I....am no idolater of their unnatural restraints"⁴⁷. These restraints he implied in somewhat circumspect prose had produced moral lapses when he had attended Harrow in the 1870s⁴⁸ but he was sure that "The utmost care is [now] taken....to guard against moral contamination"⁴⁹ so that such lapses had become a thing of the past. Unfortunately, they were also a thing of the past as far as Bruce Marshall was concerned in 1946 when he wrote his novel *George*

*Brown's Schooldays*⁵⁰. As with Russell in 1900, Marshall contrasted the present reformed position with that of his own schooldays thirty years previously⁵¹. Russell thought the 1900s had brought an end to the culture of the 1870s; Bruce thought the 1940s had brought an end to the culture of the 1900s and 1910s. How did this culture work and how was it replicated in English girls' schools?

The mechanics of homosexual relations (as of heterosexual) are varied and complicated. Describing a scandal in a US Navy training base in the early 1900s⁵², George Chauncey details an elaborate taxonomy showing how and why some ostensibly heterosexual men came to have regular homosexual sex with self-declared homosexual men and while the subtle twists and turns of that case need not detain us here it is a useful point of departure because it allows us to take on board the idea which Chauncey employs of 'homo-social' relationships. Put simply this is the idea that people of the same sex might, in certain circumstances, relate to each other in apparently homosexual ways but still retain inner convictions of themselves as heterosexual. The crush, burn, flame or rave (I shall prefer "rave" hereafter) was homo-*social* rather than homosexual. Under the rave's terms and conventions, a younger girl would fixate or imprint on an older girl whom she would seek to emulate and whom she would adore - but only from a considerable distance. The ravee would be everything the raver aspired to be but believed that she was not - attractive, capable, well liked by others and so forth. The raver would pine after the ravee in full flight of a feminine hero worship charged with sexual overtones but there would be no contact between the two - "genital sexual fulfilment would have meant a failure of self-discipline [for the raver]"⁵³. Joan Tomlinson directed her attention towards various older girls but found no passion stirring and finally latched onto the captain of the school cricket team in order that she might be "established....as normal and not a bookish freak"⁵⁴. Thus she reveals the rave as a social norm or a measure of social conformity to the school's unofficial culture but it was also a crucial proving

ground for future femininity. Theodora Benson is certainly correct when she argues from her own experiences of Cheltenham Ladies' College that "raves....were no more than a phase of growing up.....of no significance in the post-College life of...girls"⁵⁵, but only in the limited sense that they did not usually presage future homosexual tendencies. Joan Tomlinson was an exception in this in that she did form a lesbian relationship at Rodean which lasted some years after her leaving⁵⁶. Raves did however have future significance in that they both required and inculcated the virtues of patience and docility. To deal directly with a ravee was to break the spell and to flout the rules. The raver suffered in silence and at a distance.

By contrast, in boys schools strength and willingness to act were valued. Girls' schools had raves, boys' boarding schools had rapes. Ravers effectively took 'no' for an answer because they never asked any questions - they in fact never asked anything at all of the ravee. Often in boys' schools, when a boy fixed his attentions on another, there was no question of a refusal. Bruce Marshall has one of his characters remark "There's a small chap with fair hair called Simpkins or Tompkins that I'm thinking of making my flower" and it is clear in context that Simpkins (or Tompkins), being only a small chap, is not to have much of a say in the matter⁵⁷. This is sexual violence made casual and all the more brutal for that. Even more dramatically, J R Ackerley [b 1896] recalls in his autobiography an especially harrowing moment from his boarding school days when "Teddy [who] was the school whore....begged me, whatever I did, not to go the way that he had gone"⁵⁸. The older girl who was the subject of many young girls' raves was a heroine⁵⁹ but the younger boy who become the object of the interest of many older boys and who may then have made some attempt to turn his situation to his advantage was, more starkly, a whore. Through homo-social relationships, boys learned what they *could* do and girls learned what they could *not*. Aggression and

dominance (for all except the small) were emphasised as male and submission and subordination were emphasised as female.

Specifically Scottish reference to raves appear to be few in number and this may well be a result of the rave being especially associated with the hot house of the boarding environment. Margaret Haig at St Leonard's did take long walks with her close, if improbably named, friend Prid but she records only that on these they were "discussing....politics", "almost all the time"⁶⁰. Miss Brodie's girls spent one particularly happy afternoon "on the benches under the [school's] elm trees" from where they could see "like a promise of next year, a group of girls from the Senior school...doing first-form Latin"⁶¹. But while they may have admired these girls at a distance this hardly counts as raving. Even in their relationship with Miss Brodie "who made herself adorable"⁶² in the final term before they left her charge, there is no suggestion of any homosexual or homo-social attachment though teachers *could* be the subject of raves - if rarely⁶³. Only in Catherine Carswell's epistolary novel of a young teacher in the early years of her career (in a school which is a thinly veiled version of The Park at which Carswell was both a pupil and a teacher) are there references which suggest that there might have been raves in Scottish girls' schools. Even these references are oblique and mention only memories of what it was once like to have "intense schoolgirl friendships that begin with terrific emotional enthusiasm" and to have been "keen on.....[a girl] in the Upper Third"⁶⁴. The tone of the references shows it is taken for granted that they will be understood without explanation, and this may lead us to conclude that raves were as commonplace in Scotland's pre-1945 girls' self-governing schools as they were in England's but this is a great deal to build from very little. The Park was a day school, not boarding, but the general claim of a strong link between boarding and raves seems to hold good throughout the English experience. Further work with the techniques of oral history might bring to light more evidence of raves in Scotland's girls' independent schools (though this seems

unlikely as such deeply personal matters are perhaps more often confessed in autobiographies where they can be given on the confessor's own terms) but whether or not this happens it seems most likely that the idea of the rave was not deeply rooted in the culture of Scotland's self-governing girls' schools.

What can be said with some certainty is that the rave only came to be a matter of public concern in the 1920s when it was imagined to be a manifestation of actual lesbianism, a phenomenon which had caused little social concern hitherto⁶⁵. The 1920s represented the most marked period of growth for girls' self-governing schools throughout Britain⁶⁶ and as it was also the decade which saw the rise of the decadent self-styled *sonnenkind* or 'children of the sun' including the trio of sometimes disreputable writers Waugh, Auden and Spender and the altogether more disreputable trio of Philby, Burgess and Maclean⁶⁷. For many of these people homosexuality was an important expression of their rebellion against the values and structures which had brought about the war of 1914-1918. These were the dandified aesthetes (including himself) to whom Spender referred when he wrote "I think continually of those who were truly great/....Born of the sun, they travelled a short while towards the sun/And left the vivid air signed with their honour" whose wild antics led more stolid and socially conservative figures such as John Buchan to conclude that their world was "being assaulted by [a]....spirit of madness and evil....the spirit of their times"⁶⁸. This in turn focused attention on the possibility that the public schools (both male and female) would be breeding grounds for further moral corruption. Thus it was that in the 1920s the headmistress at Cheltenham could find the raves she saw in the girls under her care "more serious....than...in her own schooldays"⁶⁹ though in reality nothing had changed in the raves themselves, only in the way they were viewed by school authorities. Ignored, even indulged, previously they were treated with marked suspicion by school authorities from the 1920s⁷⁰. But be they ignored, indulged or outlawed, raves do seem to have been more English than Scottish.

I turn next to other similarities and dissimilarities in the various English and Scottish experiences. Taking cultural soundings from autobiographical sources on such a subject as this emphasises Anderson's claim that the independent schools of Scotland were never *as* distinct from the state financed/locally governed mainstream as were the public schools of England from its mainstream. While the costs of an independent schooling in Scotland did increase throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (and have continued to increase to the present) making for ever greater distance between Scotland's state and independent schools on the "hierarchical continuum...[of] fees"⁷¹, *cultures* did not necessarily diverge so greatly.

Superficially, the English girls' high schools, the girls public schools, the girls' public schools in Scotland and the others Scottish girls' independents all had much in common. They adopted and sang school anthems⁷² ("solidarity songs" as Orwell derisively called them⁷³) and they promoted school spirit (the Brodie girls were particularly disliked by their peers for lacking this⁷⁴). But the girls high schools in England and the independents in Scotland lacked the hot-house intensity of the boarding environment which produced raves, as detailed above. They lacked also the culture and organisation which shaped the girls' public schools (in Scotland and England) as Delamont and Senders Pedersen describe. They did not have the often anti-intellectual culture which came from the boys' public schools⁷⁵ and which led one erstwhile pupil (Margaret Cole [b 1893]) to say of the principal girls' public school in England "Rodean may not have been the stupidest school in England, but it certainly ranked high"⁷⁶. Bursaries and scholarships to the English public boarding schools for girls, even the most expensive and selective such as Wycombe, were not unknown⁷⁷ but these were introduced largely in the 1950s and were never as common as in Scotland⁷⁸. The English high schools and the Scottish independents appear not to have had the

bitterly intense class consciousness found at St Leonard's. Symbolically, the "ancient grey stones" of St Leonard's have been judged to make it "probably [one of]...only two [girls' public schools] which could in appearance be mistaken for boys' schools"⁷⁹ - the other being Cheltenham. Erica Hunt from Berwickshire [b 1898] attended St Leonard's and recalls that:

*the girl who slept next to me in the dormitory
....invited me for the half-term weekend, I was
waiting for her to come to the train, I had my
bag packed ready to go. She came downstairs with
a face like thunder, holding a letter. She said, 'My
mother has just discovered that your father is
only a farmer, so she can't have you under our
roof'⁸⁰.*

Margaret Roberts [b 1885] was also the daughter of a prosperous farmer who employed both domestic and farm servants but while she was educated privately (in a proprietary boarding school) she too considered St Leonard's quite distinct from her experience. It was there that girls with whom she had earlier attended school went when "they got too grand"⁸¹.

Scotland's girls' independents may also have lacked the culture of bullying of the girls' public schools which may have been carried over from the boys' public schools and is certainly bound up with the intensity of boarding life. Gladys Mary Wauchope [b 1889] records of her time at St Katherine's (the junior section of St Leonard's) that "There was real bullying [practised there].....More than once I received three or four cuts on my naked back with a riding switch [from other pupils]"⁸². It is difficult to give evidence for a negative - can we conclude that bullying was less marked in schools which did not follow the public school model simply because it is not recorded or reported in autobiographical sources? Caution is called for because the sources are deficient and in the matter of such painful memories may not be honest (though several literary critics insist that

women have often been *more likely* to record unpleasant childhood experiences than men in autobiographical works⁸³). It does however seem likely that the particular intensity of bullying described by Wauchope could have occurred only in a boarding environment. Thus, again, the lack of such schools in Scotland gives grounds to suggest a qualitatively distinct experience both the Scottish schools but also to more or less comparable schools in England.

However, while most Scottish girls between 1872 and 1945, of whatever class, did not experience boarding school life directly, they did experience it vicariously through the genre of 'school stories'. It is to these and their particular effects in Scotland that I now turn. Much has been written on the fictional literature available for young girls in Britain in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries⁸⁴ and study of boys' fiction has continued⁸⁵ since Orwell's first exploration of it in his justly famous essay on "Boys' Weeklies"⁸⁶. Certainly the serious academic study of fiction for children is not the Cinderella subject it once was. Less well explored in the context of Britain or Scotland⁸⁷ is the territory of school textbooks and their effects on pupils though equivalent work has been undertaken elsewhere⁸⁸ and I turn to such an examination in my fifth chapter. Here I consider the genre of school stories about and for girls whether published as serials in weekly magazines such as the widely read *Lucky Star*, *Girls' Own Paper* and the *School Friend* or as complete novels.

The heyday of girls' school stories, the 1910s, 1920s and 1930s, corresponds to the heyday of girls' independent schools themselves. By then such schools had defined their identities, established their modes of working and the first generation of their products had grown to adulthood. Fiction for girls between the 1870s and the 1940s of course ranged across a great many subjects and came in many styles thus 'schoolgirls' fiction' (fiction aimed at girls of school age) is not to be confused with 'schoolgirl stories', where the latter is a subset of the former

specialising in plots set in private boarding schools. Having only one setting (the girls' private boarding school) these works are often formulaic in the extreme. Their ideology is that of high imperialism⁸⁹ - emphasising fortitude, self-sacrifice, loyalty and social solidarity. None of the authors of schoolgirl stories has ever been accused of social relevance. Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig point out that the genre died in the 1970s, "the era of the *Little Red School Book*, [and] the Rupert Bear Obscenity trial" but some of the best known stories from the genre's height coincided with "the General Strike, [and] the publication of *Lady Chatterly's Lover*"⁹⁰.

A triumvirate of writers dominated the genre for as long as it thrived. Angela Brazil and Elinor Brent-Dyer wrote primarily novels and Elsie J Oxenham wrote primarily in serialised girls' papers or magazines⁹¹. (Though less well known than any of these three, Sarah Fielding is credited with having invented the genre as early as 1749⁹².) Without doubt the most famous of the three, Angela Brazil, always imagined herself a Celt, largely on the grounds of having an Irish father, a half Scottish mother and (surely the clincher) having been born on St Andrew's day⁹³. Her biographer, who seems as naive in these things as Brazil herself, adds that the link was cemented by a love for all things Celtic and mystical going so far as to say: "[t]here is a thesis to be written on Angela Brazil's obsession with the world of the faery"⁹⁴. (This is not that thesis.) But for all this, there is surprisingly little in her prolific output which deals with Scots or Scotland. Several of her characters are described in her novels as vaguely Celtic⁹⁵ but only two novels touch on Scotland directly. In her last work, *The School on the Loch*, the daughters of an expatriate Scottish planter return from Kenya to attend an isolated Scottish boarding school (on the banks of a loch) of a sort which, as we have seen, really did not exist in great numbers in Scotland. Like their author, the young heroines have not done their homework and their knowledge of Scotland comes from "a really glorious book...[called] *Bonnie Scotland*....full of lovely

pictures"⁹⁶. Unfortunately, when they arrive in their ancestral homeland, the girls (like many before and since) "[find] the Scottish weather decidedly trying" and bemoan the fact that "*Bonnie Scotland* showed lovely pictures, but...never said anything about the slush!"⁹⁷. Only once before, in *The Secret of the Border Castle*, had Brazil ventured across the border though this was only on a flying visit the castle in question being on the English side of the divide. In a chapter of travelogue, readers are treated to a whirlwind tour of Edinburgh, including Holyrood Palace - which is "historic...[and] full of tragedies"⁹⁸. Needless to say it is "hard to leave lovely Edinburgh on Monday morning"⁹⁹.

Brazil's nearest rival for productivity and prolixity, Elinor Brent-Dyer, managed no novels set in Scotland but she did at least produce one with two emphatically Scottish heroines. There may be more school stories with Scottish settings to be uncovered in a more extensive trawl of the serialising magazines but between them, Brazil and Brent-Dyer certainly captured the principal share of the market in school fiction for girls for as long as there was such a market and the images they generate and the stories they tell are thus qualitatively and quantitatively the most important. As regular readers of Brent-Dyer's Chalet School series will know, during the Second World War this elite international school based in the Alps (hence the chalets) was re-located to Wales. It is there that, "The Admiralty [having]....commandeered the[ir] whole island for the duration of the war"¹⁰⁰, the twins Flora and Fiona come from their previous home as children of the laird at "the Great House...on Erisay"¹⁰¹. We are in little doubt that they are Scottish as they first appear:

*in full Highland kit, with kilts.....black cloth coats,
plaids of....tartan clasped on the left shoulder with
great pebble brooches, sporrans, and glengarry
bonnets complete with [an] eagle's feather [each].*

They also speak in Gaelic and, when censured by their elder sister for doing so, Flora points out (perhaps for the benefit of readers experiencing residual doubt on the matter) that they are "Highlander[s].....and want to show people...[they are] Highland"¹⁰². By virtue of the terms and conventions of the schoolgirl story it is necessary that they make one enemy amongst the regular characters and this they duly do. Despite their resolve to speak English rather than Gaelic they are challenged by one rather pompous girl who dislikes their pronunciation. She asks "Didn't they teach you to speak the King's English at home", adding "wherever it is....Some shieling, I suppose - [or] a but and a ben perhaps"¹⁰³. As they in fact come from no less an address than "The Big House", it is no doubt as well for her at that moment that the twins' highland dress does not extend to the *sgian dhu* in the sock. However, in the fullness of time, the twins become friends with all - saving the German spies whom they contrive to foil - and though their stay at the Chalet School is brief they are happy there and the Union is not again threatened through importunate words.

Thus, while it may be true that such works as these offered "a new and positive vision of developing girlhood"¹⁰⁴ in the early and mid twentieth century they certainly did not offer any particularly new or developed depiction of Scotland, resorting instead to Victorian tartanry. The pantomimic characterisation and descriptions of the twins are unexceptional in the context of the genre. The world of the school girls story is not much complicated by the presence of a third dimension. The parade of tartanry and the superficial understanding of everything Scottish is no specially minted national insult, it is simply the common coin of the genre. The significance of the juxtaposition of the Chalet School's assumed normality and the highland twins' exotic dress, speech and nature lies deeper than this. The significance lies in the further emphasis placed on delineating what is normal and what is not. It is not normal to wear full highland dress and speak Gaelic; it is not normal not to attend a girls' boarding school; it is not normal to

wear full highland dress, speak Gaelic *and* not attend a girls' boarding school. These school stories established fixed ideas of normality, or 'girl-hood' and in doing so excluded the vast majority of school age girls. Were it not that the highland twins are different, there would be no plot. They are different because they have not previously lived in the environment of a girls' private, fee-paying and highly selective boarding school. They are different because they have not been there before; they are 'brought' there by their author because they are different. Though English and male, working class autobiographer Frank O'Connor surely speaks for many Scottish girls when he describes his shock at realising that there was to be no connection between "the idea of education I [had] formed from the boys' weeklies and education as it was practised in the schools I knew"¹⁰⁵.

The effect of school stories was thus likely to have been thoroughly corrosive. To be a 'school girl' it was necessary not simply to be a girl who attended school - a point emphasised by Cadogan and Craig. "It is possible that many working-class girls did not think of themselves as 'council-school' pupils until the authors of popular fiction hammered [the point] home"¹⁰⁶. Orwell thought that very few boys attending the highest ranking public boarding schools read school stories and that the majority of their readership was amongst those at the 'minor' public schools and the young working class¹⁰⁷. Much the same was certainly true of the girls' school stories though they seem to have penetrated as far up the social scale as St Paul's school in England, not quite in Rodean's league but the most prestigious of the high schools¹⁰⁸, where there was an officially organised, public burning of copies of Brazil's books in 1936¹⁰⁹. Both Brazil's biographer who cites the original story of this incident and Gillian Avery who repeats it and comments on it admit to being baffled by the extreme adverse reaction school stories produced amongst headmistresses¹¹⁰. The book burning may have been an isolated case - perhaps prompted by the precedents being set in Germany at the

time for dealing with literature considered undesirable - but the general tenor of the official dislike for such genre fiction seems established. It may be that headmistresses disliked the idea that these stories encouraged boarding school girls to take themselves too seriously and act out the roles and behaviours described in the novels. As with Don Quixote, the temptation to 'play oneself' on discovering that one is being written about may have been great.

Be this as it may the central theme of the effect of such stories on girls from the working and lower middle classes is easier to judge. Albeit unknowingly, as she is partisan in the extreme and would never do anything to hurt her cause of praising Brazil, Brazil's biographer makes this point well in quoting a letter to Brazil from "Jean McCracken from Clydebank". The tone is plaintive, almost pathetic, and it is clear that girls such as Jean McCracken had had their ideas of normality twisted by girls' school stories. In her letter, she writes:

*I am not a schoolgirl exactly, for I have left school.
It has always been the dearest wish of my heart....
to go to a boarding school. Unfortunately we are poor
and I had just to go to a board-school¹¹¹.*

The effect of the genre of school stories was to distort perceptions to such an extent that attending a boarding school came to be cast as normal while attending a board school was not. Clearly not every girl in the period 1872 to 1945 read such stories nor was every girl as influenced by them as Jean McCracken but there is a spark of that lightning here which flashes when an autobiographical story connects the humanity of the reader's imagination to the humanity of the autobiographer's circumstances. There must have been many more girls like Jean McCracken (the letter is quoted as typical of others) and the effect on their self esteem of feeling less than normal because they did not participate in an experience which existed largely in fiction and far less in Scotland than in England can only be guessed at. There may not necessarily have been anything 'wrong'

with the formal education they did receive but they were always going to think there was because they were under the influence of simplistic literary tropes depicting an atypical environment.

I turn now to the final theme for this chapter. The capacity of the girls' self-governing schools of England to provide universal leadership for women in search of changed gender roles may have been compromised as Delamont and Senders Pedersen suggest by the conformist nature of those schools themselves. Female suffrage was hardly the only battlefield on which the struggle for progress and change was waged between the 1870s and the 1940s, others include the struggles for contraception and reproductive rights¹¹², an improved quality of working class employment¹¹³ opportunities and a greater quantity of professional middle class work¹¹⁴, but suffrage was the 'headline' struggle until 1918. Within the ranks of suffrage advocates there was often marked division over means and methods¹¹⁵ but (borrowing language from the earlier male suffrage struggle of the Charter) both the moral force suffragists and the physical force suffragettes were characterised by leaders drawn from the upper middle classes¹¹⁶. This is neither the time nor the place to offer a detailed study of the suffrage movements and their leaders but it bears saying that the leaders of the Scottish suffrage movement identified by Leah Leneman in *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland* have a markedly lower social profile than their English equivalents¹¹⁷. Rosamund Billington has argued that there were links between the suffrage leadership and women who had attended the prestigious public boarding schools¹¹⁸, but even if this is true and Delamont and Senders Pedersen are wrong (or have overstated their respective cases), links between St Leonard's or St George's and suffrage agitation in Scotland seem very hard to find. It was "the vigorous daughters of dead or enfeebled merchants"¹¹⁹ who made up the core of pupils at the endowed schools and erstwhile hospitals in the Victorian and

Edwardian periods, "great talkers and feminists"¹²⁰ that they were it was they who formed the suffrage movement's leadership group in Scotland¹²¹.

The prestigious girls' schools of England may have produced women who acted in opposition to established gender and social norms but if they were an opposition, they were a *loyal* opposition. In Scotland, greater harmony between the formal structures of self-governing schools and their informal cultures and the structures and cultures of mainstream schools was the dominant theme.

Again this chapter has involved a deliberately limited analysis but keeping in mind the significance of independent girls' schools for a certain sort of liberal feminist it seems to be as much as may be ventured without setting one category of feminist against the other - especially socialist against liberal.

NOTES

[1] Letter from H Warre Cornish [SED] to J H Burrows [Board of Education] 19th June 1931 ED/32/60.

Taking boys', girls' and coed schools together, 260 "private secondaries" in 1879 had been whittled down to 13 by the 1920s and this number has fallen continually since - Mary E Finn "Social Efficiency, Progressivism and Secondary Education in Scotland: 1885-1905" in Walter Humes and Hamish Paterson [eds] *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education: 1800-1980* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983). Despite being few in number the disproportionate influence of those educated in Scotland's independent schools remains an acknowledged fact. See Geoffrey Walford "How Important is the Independent Sector in Scotland?" *Scottish Educational Review* vol 19 no 2 May 1987 & Peter Jones "Education" in Magnus Linklater and Robin Denniston [eds] *Anatomy of Scotland: How Scotland Works* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1992) pp 105-107.

[2] Margaret K B Sommerville *The Merchant Maidens Hospital of the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Former Pupils' Guild of the Mary Erskine's School for Girls, 1970) & John Harrison *The Company of Merchants of the City of Edinburgh and its Schools: 1694-1920* (Edinburgh: The Merchant's Hall, 1920).

[3] Unless otherwise specified, all dates for still extant schools - such as that for Wellington's foundation - and minor details on the nature of schools come from one or both of Derek Bingham [ed] *Schools in Scotland: 1993-1994* (Saxmundham: John Catt Educational, 1993) & Gillian E B Harries [ed] *The Independent Schools' Yearbook: 1994-1995* (London: A & C Black, 1994).

[4] Such as St Denis and Cranley School in Edinburgh formed in 1979 from St Denis [founded 1855] and Cranley School [founded 1871].

[5] Ellen M Hale *Lansdowne House School, Murrayfield, Edinburgh: 1879-1950* (Edinburgh: Lansdowne House Old Girls' Guild, 1959).

[6] A D Dunlop *Hutcheson's Grammar: The History of a Glasgow School* (Glasgow: Hutcheson's Educational Trust, 1992).

[7] Anna Buchan *Unforgettable, Unforgotten* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1945).

[8] A G Reekie *Farewell to Priorsford* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1950).

[9] Wendy Forrester *Anna Buchan and O Douglas* (London: The Maitland Press, 1995).

[10] Eugenie Fraser *The House by the Dvina: A Russian Childhood* (London: Corgi Books, 1984/1993) p 332.

[11] M Mack #17[a].

[12] Mary G Clarke *A Short Life of Ninety Years* (Edinburgh: Astrid & Martin Higgins, 1973) p 11.

[13] Beatrice M M Urquhart #27.

Philip W Gardner has argued that the long officially denigrated dame or adventure school survived the advent of compulsory elementary education because such small institutions were popular with working class parents who preferred schools which were local and run by teachers might be more approachable than the more formally educated staff of state sanctioned institutions. Stephen Humphries has taken up this idea and speaks of "a stubborn working class spirit which capriciously rejected.....officially prescribed forms of schooling" - idem *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth, 1889-1939* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) p 88. Gardner himself traces the continued existence of such schools into the 1930s when "the last links with a redundant working class tradition....disappeared from history" - Gardner's work has been published as a book (*The Lost Elementary Schools of Victorian England*) but I quote here from his original research in "Working Class Private Schools in the Nineteenth Century" unpublished DPhil thesis University of Sussex 1982 p 235. While all of this may be true for England, Gardner's work pays little attention to Scotland and the available evidence of relic Scottish dame/adventure schools suggests a more middle class nature. Both Beatrice Urquhart (daughter of a commercial agent) and Mary Clarke (daughter of a school headmaster) are avowedly middle class and Clarke adds that she attended her dame/adventure school "in company with [the children of] most of the professorial families of the University circle in Old Aberdeen" - Clarke op cit p 11.

[14] Avery op cit p 128; Lindy Moore lists several more small private schools operating in the north east in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century in idem "The Aberdeen University Local Examinations: 1880-1911" *Northern Scotland* vol 15 1995.

[15] Nigel Shepley *Women of Independent Mind: St George's School, Edinburgh and the Campaign for Women's Education: 1888-1988* (Edinburgh: St George's School for Girls, 1988).

[16] G M N Ramsay "Foundation and Government" in Julia Grant, K H McCutcheson and E F Sanders [eds] *St Leonard's School: 1877-1927* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, nd, c 1928 [?]).

[17] Despite the reputation it has acquired by association with the cartoonist Ronald Searle who lodged with a family whose daughters were pupils there, writing in 1944 when St Trinnean's had been relocated to his 'patch', W D Ritchie (then Director of Education for Selkirk) was able to assure the Scottish Office that he was "free to call [there]....at any time". He records no fear of being kidnapped and having to be rescued by Joyce Grenfell; see ED/32/60 & Gillian Avery *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1991) pp 141-142.

[18] Robert Anderson "Secondary Schools and Scottish Society in the Nineteenth Century" *Past & Present* no 109 November 1985 p 193.

[19] G A Osborne *Scottish and English Schools: A Comparative Survey of the Past Fifty Years* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1966) p 236.

[20] Muriel Spark *Curriculum Vitae: Autobiography* (London: Constable, 1992) p 50.

These boys do not feature in *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961/1990) [hereafter *The Prime*] as they apparently ceased to be admitted during Spark's time at Gillespie's, the inspiration for the fictional Marcia Blaine School. Boys had however been an established part of the school's life hitherto.

[21] Charles Stuart [ed] *The Reith Diaries* (Glasgow: Wm Collins, 1975) p 19.

[22] Avery op cit p 311.

[23] Ibid p 62.

[24] Avery op cit p 67.

[25] Spark *The Prime* op cit p 5.

[26] Avery op cit p 74.

[27] Shepley op cit p 1.

[28] June Rose *Marie Stopes and the Sexual Revolution* (London: Faber & Faber, 1992/1993) p 14.

What Stopes herself thought of St George's or the London Collegiate is impossible to say as she recorded a dislike of those who "gravely record nursery poetry, and essays written for school magazines" as evidence of early influences; for her own part, she preferred "[to] be an enigma, to be unravelled only in my work" and thus recorded no thoughts on her schooldays - Marie Carmichael Stopes "A Poetical Autobiography" *Kingdom Come* spring 1940 p 41.

[29] Avery op cit pp 74 & 84.

[30] Ibid pp 54-55.

[31] Avery op cit p 55.

[32] See, for example, Rosamund Billington "Women's Education" in Sally Mitchell [ed] *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopaedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988).

[33] Sara Delamont "The Contradictions in Ladies' Education" in idem et Lorna Duffin [eds] *The Nineteenth-Century Woman: Her Physical and Cultural World* (London: Croom Helm, 1978) p 160.

[34] Avery op cit p 102.

[35] Joyce Senders Pedersen "Education, Gender and Social Change in Victorian Liberal Feminist Theory" *History of European Ideas* vol 8 nos 4 & 5 1987 pp 510 & 511-512.

[36] Her argument is evidently closely aligned with the philosophical position which American educational philosopher Kenneth A Strike has called "Strong Democracy":

*[a] view of community....characterised by the conviction that liberalism corrodes community
.....[and] a view of the distribution of educational resources.....suspicious of entrusting the performance of these public functions to private schools*

idem "The Moral Role of Schooling in a Liberal Democratic Society" *Review of Research in Education*: 17 1991 pp 447 & 453.

[37] See also Felicity Hunt "Divided Aims: the Educational Implications of Opposing Ideologies in Girls' Secondary Schooling, 1850-1940" in idem [ed] *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women: 1850-1950* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987).

[38] Tom Gammage "Autobiography as a Source for the Educational Historian: A Select Bibliography" *History of Education Society Occasional Publications* no 5 1980.

[39] Angus Calder "Miss Jean Brodie and the Kaledonian Klan" in idem *Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic* (London: I B Taurus, 1994) p 152.

Against a background of fervent anti-Catholic agitation and violence directed by the Protestant Action group, Calder remarks that "It is curious that her [ie Miss Brodie's] pupils learn (or recall) nothing of her response to the most colourful element in [1930s Edinburgh]" - *ibid* p 153. It may be that Calder intends this as an implicit attack on autobiographical novels as historical sources but if it is then it surely misses the point of their essential inward rather than outward direction of attention. Specifically in the matter of education it is interesting to note another omission from *The Prime*. The key speech on the nature of education ("The word 'education' comes from the root *e* from *ex* out, and *duco*, I lead") is delivered on a walk through the Old Town of Edinburgh which takes the girls along Chambers Street and into Lauriston place. Following Calder, it is curious that her pupils do not learn (or recall) anything of the school which they must have passed on

Lauriston Place, "a school for children with ringworm of the scalp.....'The noise from these children playing....in their playground was terrific....and they were all bald...both boys and girls.....the only way that you could distinguish them was that the girls wore skirts'" - Spark op cit *The Prime* pp 36-39 & Margaret McArthur "Everyday Health Care" in Tollcross Local History Project [eds] *Waters Under the Bridge: Twentieth Century Tollcross, Fountainbridge and the West Port* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press/Tollcross Local History Project, 1990) p 118 interview with A C McLaren.

[40] Catherine Carswell *The Camomile* (London: Virago, 1922/1987).

[41] Thus, for example, Baron Balfour of Burleigh [b 1927], (whose father was Scottish Secretary from 1895 to 1903 and thus one of the first holders of that post to preside over the SED) has written of his Anglo-Scottish childhood saying "Which was home? London, where we lived ten months of the year....and where we went to school, or Brucefield, our home in Scotland where we spent the summer holiday and a few weeks at Easter?....Brucefield would have been the answer" - idem in Antony Kamm and Anne Lean [eds] *A Scottish Childhood: 70 Famous Scots Remember* (Glasgow: Wm Collins/Save the Children Fund, 1985) p 124. Though he may think so it is not clear that those more permanently resident in Scotland would concur but either way it is clear that an Anglo-Scottish woman in the equivalent position of being educated in England, no matter how Scottish she might think herself, could have nothing to say about the Scottish female school experience.

[42] See Richard J Finlay *Independent and Free: Scottish Politics and the Origins of the Scottish National Party, 1918-1945* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1994) p 198 & Wendy Wood *I Like Life* (Edinburgh: The Moray Press, 1938).

[43] Naomi Mitchison *As it Was: An Autobiography, 1897-1918* (Glasgow: Richard Drew, 1988).

[44] Margaret Haig *This Was My World* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1933).

[45] John E Talbot "The History of Education" in Peter Gordon and Richard Szreter [eds] *History of Education: The Making of a Discipline* (London: The Woburn Press, 1989) p 143.

[46] For an account of life here, albeit a limited one, see Amy Stewart Fraser *In Memory Long* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977) p 105.

[47] G W E Russell "The Public Schools" in idem *Collections and Recollections: Series II* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1902/1909) p 342.

Better known by his sobriquet 'A E', Russell was prominent as a late nineteenth and early twentieth century journalist and as an Irish nationalist of fiery rhetoric.

[48] Ibid p 348.

[49] Ibid p 342.

[50] Bruce Marshall *George Brown's Schooldays* (London: Constable, 1946).

Marshall belongs in a category of authors who have written what Martin Green calls "disclosure novels" revealing the secrets of English public school life. The first of these may have been Alec Waugh, Evelyn's elder brother, who, despite the fact that he "love[d]....golf...[and] cricket and showed himself thoroughly 'normal'" was expelled from his public school as an alleged homosexual and wrote a novel depicting sexual violence at a public school by way of seeking revenge - Martin Green *Children of the Sun: A Narrative of Decadence in England after 1918* (London: Pimlico, 1976/1992) p 215. (Though a Scottish novelist, Marshall was describing an English public school. It is not clear if Scotland's boys' independent schools have ever had such a homosexual/homo-social culture but if many of them were more Anglicised than their female equivalents as was suggested in chapter one then it may be that they have.)

[51] Marshall op cit "Author's Note".

[52] George Chauncey "Christian Brotherhood or Sexual Perversion?: Homosexual Identities and the Construction of Sexual Boundaries in the World War One Era" *Journal of Social History* vol 19 no 2 1985-1986.

[53] Martha Vicinus "Distance and Desire: English Boarding-School Friendships" *Signs* vol 9 no 4 1984 p 605.

[54] Joan Tomlinson *On a May Morning* (Guilford: Hickey Press, 1977) p 20.

[55] Theodora Benson "Hot-Water-Bottle Love" in Graham Greene [ed] *The Old School: Essays by Divers Hands* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934) p 41.

[56] Tomlinson was later the founder of a short lived experimental school, the Beltane School, founded to teach along lines consistent with the principles of psychoanalysis in which all aspects of sexuality were presumably dealt with more openly.

[57] Marshall op cit pp 167-168.

[58] J R Ackerley *My Father and I* quoted in A O J Cockshut *The Art of Autobiography in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century England* (London: Yale University Press, 1984) p 171.

[59] Avery op cit p 305.

[60] Haig op cit p 50.

[61] Spark op cit *The Prime* p 71.

[62] Ibid p 71.

[63] Avery op cit p 306.

[64] Carswell op cit pp 20 & 66.

Assuming that the novel makes only as much of these relationships as is required for the plot, something a little more forthcoming might have been expected from the autobiography of a woman bold enough to have been a passionate partisan of D H Lawrence. Unfortunately, her autobiographical manuscript was unfinished at her death and was only edited and published posthumously by her son. *Lying Awake: An Unfinished Autobiography and Other Posthumous Papers* John Carswell [ed] (London: Secker & Warburg, 1950). Perhaps John took some hint from his mother's remark that "be...[a] woman ever so moral, she can still offend by the intimacy of her confession" - *ibid* p 116. Alternatively, it may be that such relationships really did carry less force than in England and were less common and less significant in Scotland.

[65] Cate Haste *Rules of Desire: Sex in Britain, World War I to the Present* (London: Pimlico, 1992/1994) p 84.

[66] Avery op cit p 108.

She attributes this particular phase of growth to an abundance of female teachers prepared to devote themselves entirely to their teaching as they, after the 1914-1918 war, they had little hope of future marriage and who were prepared to devote their lives to their schools and work hard for little financial reward. Certainly, Miss Brodie's lover Hugh Carruthers ("one of the Flowers of the Forest") was lost to her in this way - Spark op cit *The Prime* p 13.

[67] In its fullest sense, the idea of the *sonnenkind* or children of the sun imagined that there was a natural class of perfect aristocrats who were the descendants of the world's first civilised people and whose magnificence had shone forth in every culture and every age. Though Spender's poem makes an obvious play on this strange notion it is not clear that he and the other greatest intellects associated with the *sonnenkind* movement of the 1920s actually believed anything of the sort. It may have been left to lesser hangers-on to this believe but Spender and those "who were truly great" were however happy to flirt with the idea for its effect in outraging settled society. See Green op cit pp Appendices A "Dramatis Personae" (pp 499-501) & B "'Children of the Sun' - A Short History of the Concept" (pp 501-508).

[68] Green op cit pp 60-61.

Though a famous Scot Buchan was of course also a famous Briton, Unionist and Imperialist. Thus the direction of his concern as described by Green was not specifically towards Scotland's schools but the great public schools of England/the empire. In fact, the whole *sonnenkind* movement rather passed Scotland by at the time. Of the principal actors in its high camp melodrama whom Green lists in his *Dramatis Personae*, only one - Ian Fleming - was Scottish - see Green op cit

Appendix A pp 499-501. Scotland's intellectuals of the 1920s and 1930s often exhibited a rather more practical nature than their English counterparts - as witness the down to earth prose and poetry of Muir, MacDiarmid or Grassie Gibbon. They were tied to the practicalities of life and to the land in a way which the dissolute, wandering *sonnenkind* were not - Muir to the earth of Orkney; Grassie Gibbon to Aberdeenshire and the Mearns and even MacDiarmid to Dumfriesshire ("my native place" - the Muckle Toon of Langholm.....is the bonniest place I know" - idem "Growing up in Langholm" in Alan Riach [ed] *Hugh MacDiarmid: Selected Prose* (Manchester: Carcanet, 1992) p 268).

[69] Avery op cit p 307.

[70] Rosemary Auchmuty "You're a Dyke Angela!: Elsie J Oxenham and the Rise and Fall of the Schoolgirl Story" in Lesbian History Group [eds] *Not a Passing Phase* (London: The Women's Press, 1989) pp 119-120 & Alice Echols "The Demise of Female Intimacy in the Twentieth Century" *Michigan Occasional Papers* no VI fall 1978.

[71] Anderson op cit p 193.

[72] See Celia Haddon *Great Days and Jolly Days: The Story of Girls' School Songs* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1977) & Gavin Ewart *Forty Years On: An Anthology of School Songs* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1969).

[73] "I never read....the solidarity songs of the public schools....without seeming to hear in the background a chorus of raspberries from all the millions of common men [sic] to whom these high sentiments have no appeal" - George Orwell "The Art of Donald McGill" in *Decline of the English Murder and Other Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, first published as a collection, 1965) p 153.

[74] Spark *The Prime* op cit p 6.

[75] See Avery op cit pp 87, 99 & 246 on anti-intellectualism amongst girls and staff at Wycombe Abbey, Rodean and Cheltenham respectively (though she notes also that the standards of the North London Collegiate School could be low at times - ibid pp 246-247).

[76] Margaret Cole *Growing up into Revolution* extract in Patricia Craig [ed] *The Oxford Book of Schooldays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994) p 154.

[77] Avery op cit pp 57-59 emphasises the greater degree of class mixing in the girls' high schools and mentions bursary schemes to the prestigious boarding schools in the 1950s which did not work well - ibid pp 14-15 & 206.

[78] Spark op cit *Curriculum Vitae* pp 52-53.

[79] Avery op cit p 85.

[80] Anne Smith [ed] *Women Remember: An Oral History* (London: Routledge, 1989) pp 47-48.

[81] Lynn Jamieson and Claire Toynbee [eds] *Country Bairns: Growing Up 1900-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992) interview with Margaret Roberts p 194.

[82] Gladys Mary Wauchope *The Story of a Woman Physician* (Bristol: John Wright & Sons, 1963) p 15.

[83] See Ellen Moers *Literary Women* (New York: Doubleday, 1975); Estelle C Jelineck "Introduction: Women's Autobiographies and the Male Tradition" in idem [ed] *Women's Autobiographies: Essays in Criticism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980) & Valerie Sanders *The Private Lives of Victorian Women: Autobiography in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989).

[84] See, for example, Penny Tinkler *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls Growing up in England, 1920-1950* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995); idem "Learning Through Leisure: Feminine Ideology Girls' Magazines, 1920-1950" & Deborah Gorham "The Ideology of Femininity and Reading for Girls: 1850-1914" both in Hunt [ed] op cit & Mary Cadogan and Patricia Craig *You're a Brick Angela!: A New Look at Girls' Fiction from 1839 to 1975* (London: Victor Gollanz, 1979).

[85] Most recently, see Robert H MacDonald "Reproducing the Middle-Class Boy: From Purity to Patriotism in the Boys' Magazines, 1892-1914" *Journal of Contemporary History* vol 24 no 3 1989.

[86] George Orwell "Boys' Weeklies" in idem *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, first published as a collection 1957).

[87] Alexander Law "Scottish Schoolbooks of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Part II" *Studies in Scottish Literature* vol XIX 1981-1982 is interesting but rather more aimed at the antiquarian or book collector than the historian. (Part I deals with material which is too early to be of any interest here.)

[88] See, for example, S G Firth "Social Values in the New South Wales Primary School, 1880-1914: An Analysis of School Texts" in *Melbourne Studies in Education* 1970 & Linda Clark "The Socialization of Girls in the Primary Schools of the Third Republic" *Journal of Social History* vol 15 no 2 winter 1981.

[89] Avery op cit p 200.

[90] Cadogan and Craig op cit p 201.

[91] Auchmuty op cit in Lesbian History Group [eds] op cit.

[92] Shirley Foster and Judy Simons *What Katy Read: Feminist Re-Readings of 'Classic' Stories for Girls* (London: Macmillan, 1995) pp 195-196.

[93] Gillian Freeman *The Schoolgirl Ethic: The Life and Work of Angela Brazil* (London: Allan Lane, 1976) p 13 & Cadogan and Craig p 112.

[94] Freeman op cit p 33.

[95] Ibid p 117.

[96] Angela Brazil *The School on the Loch* (Glasgow: Wm Collins, 1947/1969) p 5.

[97] Ibid p 31.

[98] Angela Brazil *The Secret of the Border Castle* (Edinburgh: Blackie & Son, 1943) p 231.

[99] Ibid p 237.

[100] Elinor M Brent-Dyer *The Highland Twins at the Chalet School* (Glasgow: Wm Collins, 1942/1988) p 12.

Their home is apparently a fictionalised version of Eriskay. This barren, Catholic island would of course later be further fictionalised by Compton Mackenzie as *Todaigh Beag* in *Whiskey Galore*. The relationship between the highland twins and Captain Wagget, Mackenzie's laird, is not recorded.

[101] Ibid p 16.

[102] Ibid pp 18-19.

[103] Ibid p 76.

[104] Foster and Simons op cit p 211.

[105] Frank O'Connor *An Only Child* extract in Craig [ed] op cit p 112; see also Tinkler op cit *Constructing Girlhood* pp 82-83.

[106] Cadogan and Craig op cit p 251.

[107] Orwell "Boys' Weeklies" op cit pp 182-183.

[108] Avery op cit p 40.

[109] Freeman op cit p 19.

[110] Avery op cit p 200; Freeman op cit p 19 & Tinkler op cit *Constructing Girlhood* p 84.

[111] Quoted in Freeman op cit p 109.

Ann F Robb [b 1927] # 21, Beatrice M M Urquhart [b 1923] # 27 and Jenny Chaplin [b 1928] # 9 all report much the same desire to have been 'schoolgirls' as the novels and serials depicted them though none of these three seems to have been as pathetically desperate as Jean McCracken.

[112] See, for example, Anderson and Zinsser op cit pp 203-204.

[113] Anderson and Zinsser point out the tension between agitating for better employment opportunities so that middle class women might have more satisfying work and agitating for simply humanity in conditions of employment so that working class women might survive the labour they needed to undertake - ibid pp 185-216 & 248-276.

[114] Some attempt at reconciling the separate struggles over working and middle class employment for women came with the Women's Employment Federation founded by Scottish Labour MP [Blackburn, 1929-1932] Mary Agnes Hamilton and others in 1933 - idem *Remembering My Good Friends* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1944).

[115] Anderson and Zinsser op cit pp 362-363.

[116] Ibid p 363.

[117] Leah Leneman *A Guid Cause: The Women's Suffrage Movement in Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1991) Appendix 2 pp 253-273.

[118] Rosamund Billington "The Dominant Values of Victorian Feminism" in Eric M Sigsworth [ed] *In Search of Victorian Values: Aspects of Nineteenth-Century Thought and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) p 121.

[119] Spark op cit *The Prime* p 42.

[120] Ibid p 43.

[121] The Scottish suffrage movement leader with the highest social profile was the aristocratic Ishbel Marjoribanks [b 1857], Lady Aberdeen. Born too early to attend such a school as St Leonard's (which was not to open till the 1880s), her education took place largely at home (primarily in England) under the tutelage of private governesses and though she had some ambition to attend one of the pioneering female colleges, Girton or St Margaret's Hall, she was thwarted in this by parental refusal. Be this as it may, the fact remains that the Scottish girls' public schools seem not to have provided suffrage leadership. See the husband and wife joint autobiography of James Campbell [Lord Aberdeen] and Ishbel Marjoribanks [Lady Aberdeen] *We Twa* (Glasgow: Wm Collins, 1925/1927) especially pp 141-143. Her principal educational work for the feminist cause (in

the liberal sense that she conceived it) was undertaken primarily through the Onwards and Upwards Association - see chapter 2 note [33] below.

In this fifth chapter I turn to the more general or mainstream experience for girls in both Scottish elementary and more advanced schools between 1872 and 1945. Thus I deal primarily with relevant aspects of the urban, industrial, Protestant school curriculum but touch on curricular issues in other contexts where appropriate. I turn first to defining the nature of school curricula and surveying comparative literature on the uses of curricula. I then analyse the teaching of various subjects in Scottish schools between 1872 and 1945 in depth primarily through critical reading of school textbooks in the collection of the Scottish Museum of Childhood in Edinburgh¹ and through analysis of selected examination papers. (In a later chapter I turn to the question of calculating girls' successes in examinations through records of results.)

Specifically I examine the possibility that there were hidden and half hidden curricula at work in Scottish schools between 1872 and 1945 which implicitly taught values related to femininity. In other words: I shall investigate the possibility of there having been, as in France during the Third Republic, a regime of "[school] textbooks and testing for girls....[using] definition[s] of female personalities as not only hardworking but also submissive, obedient, self-effacing, and gentle"². I take these to be the central component of the general ideal of femininity, (Anna Davin's parallel study of English school texts between 1870 and 1902 finds similarly that "they advocated - unselfishness, compassion, devotion to housewifely industry and family duty"³) but as that ideal did not remain constant throughout the period 1872 to 1945 I shall examine too how these changes might be reflected in the Scottish curriculum.

Understood literally, the word "curriculum" describes a race track or course. This race course in Latin becomes an academic course in English. The idea of curriculum as race track reveals the fundamental tension in all curricular design and implementation. Is the track going to be one on which children/school pupils

can learn to run free or is it to be a mass of hurdles or obstacles which they must jump? Educational theorist David Hamilton expresses this tension when he says "Education and schooling....can be agencies of cultural manipulation just as much as they can be agencies of cultural transmission"⁴. 'Cultural transmission' cannot be value free as it assumes the superiority of certain ways of living but as Hamilton uses the idea it appears a more benign project than 'cultural manipulation'. Value free life and learning would not be possible as there must always been some grounds for making choices - valuing certain things over others - but cultural transmission is surely to be preferred to cultural manipulation. The former implies equipping children/school students to make choices by educating them so that they understand '*how* to choose' within the domain of culturally permitted options; the latter implies imparting to them specific ideas as to '*what* to choose'. The latter course thus closes down options where the former opens them up. As Hamilton says, in any teaching of how to choose there is necessarily some teaching of what to choose⁵ because a curriculum cannot avoid encoding the values of the society from which those who forged it come but the measure of a curriculum's liberality is the extent to which it limits itself to suggesting choices albeit from a limited range of options⁶. The choices we are concerned with here are answers to the general question: 'how am I to live?'. That is to say they are moral choices concerning individual and social life.

At their very worst, school textbooks for children can be quite explicitly propagandist as they have often been under totalitarian regimes as, most obviously, in Nazi Germany⁷. In these cases, texts promote the idea that there can be no answers to the question 'how am I to live?' which deviate from a strictly defined personal and political orthodoxy. However cultural manipulation can be far more subtle than this and perhaps it can be all the more significant for being subtle. As in France during the Second Republic [1870-1939/40] in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 there was no formal provision in the legislation governing

schools which would have made for distinct male and female curricula⁸. However, there are two ways in which curricula may have operated/have been operated to have the subtle effect of structuring options without the crude methods of propaganda. The idea of a 'hidden curriculum' buried in the operation of even the most apparently liberal educational system was to become common currency in the 1960s largely through its invocation by the members of the 'Deschooling Movement'. They argued that even the most seemingly liberal curriculum was no more than "sugar-coating [on] the pill of compulsion"⁹. For the radical Deschoolers all schools - either implicitly or explicitly - were coercive institutions which encoded culturally manipulative values both in what they taught and in how they taught. All patterns of school organisation and all school texts and lessons could thus be deconstructed and read for their ideological content. Though associated primarily with the cultural ferment of the 1960s, the study of the hidden curriculum in Britain dates back to at least 1943 when sociologist Michael Kaye proposed that there might be what he called "Un-intentional Education"¹⁰ encoded in school and curriculum organisation. This, he thought, was at least as significant in determining how a child would grow up as the explicit or intentional lessons taught to that child in his/her schooldays.

A hidden curriculum is not the work of any particular author or designer it is simply the sum total of the unchallenged social assumptions slipped into their work by teachers, educational administrators, text book writers and other adults working in the broad field of education. They are what Michael Apple calls, the "'intellectuals' who employ and give legitimacy to [values which]....seem neutral."¹¹ The hidden curriculum is thus the aggregate of the norms and ideas accepted as socially necessary by those who contribute to producing the overt curriculum. Disregarding this is folly but, as educationalist Walter Humes suggests, the history of hidden curricula remains under-represented in the study of Scotland's educational history¹². Apple also particularly criticises authors of

"black box"¹³, bureaucratic histories and sociologies of education which ignore the implicit effects of various components of school curricula and organisation on children/pupils.

However an intermediate stage exists between the fully hidden curriculum and explicitly propagandist teaching. Acting with propagandist intent but without propagandist methods it is possible to devise a more or less hidden curriculum with intentions which are not obvious to children/pupils in receipt of its lessons but which are calculated to have particular moral effects on them. This style of 'education by stealth' is distinct to the hidden curriculum in that it is not one in which unintentional moral lessons are taught. Rather, it is a curriculum designed and intended to teach moral lessons but in such a way that their teaching is not obvious.

The use of the 'half hidden curriculum' proceeds from the assumption that it is easier to ignore or rebel against lessons which one knows are being taught than those which are subtly but deliberately woven into the fabric of school experience. Evangelical and educational reformer David Stow pioneered the use of such methods in Scotland. As a teacher and teacher of teachers, Stow worked first for the Church of Scotland. In the schismatic Disruption of 1843 he (along with others in Scotland's most theologically radical Protestant congregations) shifted in allegiance to the new Free Church and he worked thereafter in the small but influential school system which it maintained till 1872¹⁴. In summing up his own project Stow argued that "teaching the head" was less important than "training the child"¹⁵. Though in many respects a humane man and teacher (he particularly opposed corporal punishment¹⁶) the centrality of his religious convictions left him feeling duty bound to bring the knowledge of Christ and Reformed religion to all. His concern for the saving of souls and praise of God gave him, as he saw it, no option but to use all means at his disposal to bring all the children over whom

he could have influence into the fold of Christianity as he understood it. Children must be trained to act in certain ways (that is: in ways in conformity with the teachings of Reformed religion) and not to think about alternative ways of living and acting. This project he was able to work on first directly by teaching children for the Church of Scotland, then indirectly through training teachers for the Church of Scotland and latterly the Free Church. He could not countenance a school curriculum which simply equipped children to make adult choices about religion. Rather, the range of options which they understood as possible choices had to be circumscribed so that they would inevitably make the 'right' choice. Dead before the 1872 Act came into being, Stow's influence certainly did live on in the teachers he trained and the children they taught. For present purposes it is his methods which matter rather than his specifically religious concerns.

As descriptions of the content and operation of school curricula in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 and the experience of their delivery go, few are as vivid as that given by Lewis Grassie Gibbon/James Leslie Mitchell in his autobiographical novel *The 13th Disciple*. His evocation of the curriculum as seen by a young pupil in an elementary school is especially gripping and, while less detailed, his account of that delivered to older and more advanced children is also graphic. These twin passages bear quoting at length. Of his first school (called Leekan School in the novel but actually Arbuthnott School near Stonehaven¹⁷) Mitchell writes:

[Subjects] were austere, if not always uninterestingly, taught. There was practically no religious teaching. History was circumscribed enough, but the dates [were] enlivened with figures like [King] Malcolm Canmore.....and Mary Queen of Scots, whose blood was lapped by a dog. Arithmetic was taught on a straight-forward plan, geography was no dull subject, and, being Scots, they found English fascinating enough. They were told to open their mouths, to roll the letter 'r', and to avoid the elision

of aitches, otherwise they might be mistaken for Englishmen - poor, cowardly, excitable people whom Scotsmen had chased across the border again and again. But that was the pitiful all, apart from decorative subjects. 'Natural History' consisted in snippets about the wombat, the eider duck, and the unseemly habits of the duck-billed platypus. 'Science' did not exist. Drawing was a smudging of paper with unrecognizable objects;.... No music was taught. There were massed singing lessons in which no attempt was made to train voices.They suffered neither elementary Latin nor still more elementary Greek¹⁸.

Later, the same character (who is Mitchell himself in all but name¹⁹) moves to nearby Dundon College:

Dundon [was], an owlish patriotic institution..... [which] dealt largely in Scottish history..... In English classes though he could write a better essay or short story than the average pupil, he held a low place because of his inability to dissect Shakespeare and kindred bores into their constituent squeaks, and label each squeak accurately[ie] the business of grammatical parsing and analysisIn Dundon they tested your appreciation of Tennyson's Ulysses by your ability to explain whether the dark, broad seas gloomed of themselves or were gloomed over by the approaching dusk hinted at six lines previously.....In laboratory work, he could produce quite satisfying smells and discoloration's..... French [was].....a host of rules with which the Master's acquaintance appeared as limited as his own.²⁰

Gibbon's prose is dramatic as might be expected from a writer of his calibre and if it is a 'worm's eye' view of school curricula as seen by a pupil, it is the view of a 'worm' capable of turning his experiences into art. However, it bears saying that these experiences have certainly been manipulated for dramatic purposes. This is especially so in the case of his description of Dundon (a fictional version of Mackie Academy in Stonehaven²¹) which Mitchell left in disgrace and with no formal qualifications. The descriptions are of course also exclusively male in their viewpoint and for a female version of events I draw on equally gripping, if

unpublished, material from Morag Croll [b 1935, Barnhill near Dundee]. Of her earliest school days at Eastern School in Broughty Ferry, she recalls:

We had no geography (we chanted the counties of Scotland and we were told that boys in Greenland ate blubber....). We were taught no history at all - though one teacher had a few pictures of historical characters on the classroom walls.....[We] got to draw on a Friday afternoon. We were also set compositions[but t]he only really planned lesson was the dreaded "handwork". The boys were left in a classroom to do whatever it was boys didWe girls trooped through to another classroom...[with] two teachers known for their needlework skills[W]e did not get...gym or games of any descriptionWe got no nature study or any of the sciencesThere were no sports. There were no school concerts. There were no parents nights - indeed, as far as the school was concerned there were no parents.....I can parse and do tables but I have no happy memories of my primary years.²²

Clearly neither Mitchell nor Croll can be described as nostalgic or eulogistic about Scottish schooling in the 1900s, 1910s, 1920s, 1930s and 1940s at any level many features of which remained largely unchanged since the 1870s. The general poverty of circumstances at elementary/primary level and limited curriculum and rigid teaching methods there and thereafter which both Gibbon and Croll describe are not at issue. These passages are however useful as a departure point for examining certain key aspects of Scottish school curricula. I derive several centrally important questions from their descriptions. So far as hidden, half hidden and openly propagandist messages for girls are concerned, which texts, authors and ideas predominated in the teaching of English prose and poetry in elementary schools between 1872 and 1945? Similarly, which subjects and themes predominated in the teaching of history in those schools in the same period? What can be said about the scientific curriculum at elementary level? (Here I concentrate particularly on the study of biology.) I ask each of the same questions

for the curricula of the schools teaching older and more advanced pupils. I add also two questions not derived from their descriptions: how was physical education managed and how was domestic science taught? In all of this I use an analytical framework modelled on Linda Clark's work on the French female school experience. I conclude by addressing briefly the likely impact on girls of organisational aspects of the Scottish educational system between 1872 and 1945, though I concentrate primarily on critical readings of texts and examination questions.

Mitchell is certainly correct in his depiction of the explicit religious content of much Scottish elementary schooling between 1872 and 1945 as minimal²³. The 1872 Act emphasised [section 66] that it was to be "no part of the duties of [a government] inspector to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects, or to examine any scholar in religious knowledge or in any religious subject or book". Thus, while the character of any school's delivery of religious instruction was at the discretion of the relevant body of locally elected people [section 68] there could be no coercion of any child into receiving such instruction [reiterated in the 1918 Act, section 7]. Whatever religious instruction was given could not be inspected for its efficiency, under the terms of section 34 of the 1872 Act, and thus could not attract parliamentary grants. This does not mean that the demand for the provision of religious education in their schools was absent on the part of Protestant members of school boards but that they could ill afford to finance this instruction themselves. Ellen Alwall thus concludes that various publishers produced school textbooks using passages of prose and poetry with implicitly religious messages but "The total religious impact on the pupil must have been considerably reduced after...1872"²⁴. Her concern to identify the great corpus of such messages pre-1872 and the lesser body thereafter is not strictly relevant here. However, her survey of prose texts and poems in use in Scottish schools between 1873 and 1882 is a useful starting point for this phase of the investigation as her

work was the first²⁵ and appears still to be the only bibliographical collection available to establish which texts and poems were in commonplace use at least in this early part of our period. The lack of any centrally mandated list of prescribed text books for schools such as are available for France made all such inquiries in Scotland particularly difficult²⁶.

Alwall's study immediately identifies several poets in particular as recurrent favourites in elementary poetry texts and anthologies between 1873 and 1882²⁷, and the poems of Walter Scott and Felicia Hemans in particular seem ripe for consideration. Scott's relationship to Scotland's schools was to be long and enduring. Only in the 1918 Higher English examination did a question lament: "It is said that boys and girls no longer read Scott....what grounds (if any) are there for regretting [this?]"²⁸. Through the use of such poems as "Love of Country" and "The Saxon and the Gael"²⁹ Scott was used to produce and develop an ideological approval of nation or Union building. His novels too seem to have been widely used as school texts but less so at the elementary level. At that level it was his poems which appeared in reading books and anthologies for younger children. A poetic favourite of his such as "Rosabelle" may thus admit of being analysed for its ideology of femininity. In "Rosabelle" a headstrong young girl is warned that she may die if she makes a particularly arduous journey ("Last night the gifted Seer did view/A wet shroud swathed round ladye gaye;/....Why cross the gloomy firth today?") but despite the ethic of obedience, Scott's heroines may not have been the best models of feminine compliance. As in "Rosabelle" it is generally the case that they carry on with whatever it is they are being told not to do. "Scott's independent heroines seem innocuous now, but in their day they were original and striking"³⁰. Thus despite his no doubt great ideological contribution in other respects, Scott is the wrong poet to look to in this respect. Far more interesting is the ever popular Dorothea Felicia Hemans.

Born in Liverpool in 1793, Felicia Hemans showed a precocious talent for pleasing if intellectually un-taxing verse and was the author of published poems from her adolescence. Her lines "The boy stood on the burning deck...." and "The stately homes of England...." have secured her an immortality of sorts even if few can recite any more of her work than this, fewer know her name and most associate the latter refrain with Noel Coward. Author of an 1840 instruction manual for young ladies³¹, and a large body of more or less indifferent verse, she was less prolific than Scott but her role in contributing to elementary schools reinforcing ideas of femininity through poetry may have been far greater. Significantly, it is Mrs Hemans whom Chris Guthrie is encouraged to emulate by her Dominie³² when she is being cultivated as his protégée. Through poems used in schools such as "Bring Flowers"³³ Mrs Hemans emphasised traditional feminine virtues laced with nineteenth century high romanticism.

*Bring flowers, fresh flowers, for the bride to wear!
They were born to blush in her shining hair.
She is leaving the home of her childhood's mirth,
She hath said farewell to her father's hearth.
Her place is now by another's side.
Bring flowers for the locks of the fair young bride.*

Concerned with duty and honour ("The boy stood on the burning deck when all but he had fled"); a believer in domesticity, patriotism and simple faith ("[at home] the child's glad spirit loves/Its country and its God!"); a romantic conservative (author of several mock bardic "Welsh Melodies"); occasionally maudlin ("by the past, and by the grave, the parted yet are one") and thoroughly Protestant ("The Battle of Morgarten" for example celebrates the continuing liberty of largely Protestant Switzerland), Mrs Hemans was almost the perfect poetess for the Victorian age. She had revelled in the themes of doughty Scottish heroism which were to become a staple of Victoriana³⁴ since 1818 when she penned a poetic description of a fictionalised meeting between Wallace and Bruce and travelled in

Scotland with her friends, the Wordsworths. Her works had been popular in Scottish schools since at least 1845³⁵ and continued to be popular until at least the 1910s.

Mrs Hemans lived on in her work past Victoria and Edward and, as we have seen through the example of Chris Guthrie, was evidently still popular amongst teachers at least in the years immediately prior to the First World War. But even lesser poets than she could produce even cruder works such as William Mickle [b 1735] whose "There's Nae Luck About the House" was still being included in school poetry anthologies in the 1920s. (The "gudeman" is the female narrator's husband.)

*There's nae luck about the house,
There's nae luck at a',
There's little pleasure in the house,
When our gudeman's awa.
.....And will I see his face again?
And will I hear him speak?
I'm downright dizzy wi' the thought:
In troth I'm like to greet.*³⁶

Mickle is credited with having inspired Scott but "There's Nae Luck....", described laconically in *Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary* as "poor....but...[having] ensured his immortality"³⁷, remains his own most significant contribution to what we might call the genre of 'poetry for the young'. Through the frequent repetition or even singing ("There's Nae Luck...." has been set to music) to which poetry lends itself, propagandist works such as those of Mrs Hemans and William Mickle may have had an impact but poems as ideologically blatant as these seem to have been rare in school anthologies. It is important to remember that the worst examples make the best reading. What matters more is the lack of any alternative voice. The significance of these poems should be clear. They indicate (both in what they say and in what they do not say

or allow to be said - the absence of alternative voice) they way[s] and the extent[s] to which girls in Scottish schools in the period 1872 to 1945 were surrounded by or immersed in a culture which perpetuated social/gender conservatism.

Prose texts too could be explicitly doctrinaire but were not always so. Here the use of prose readers designed ostensibly to teach children to read must be distinguished from the use of textbooks on ethics or civics which offer short readings to make moral points. Of the latter it has been said that:

*The[ir].....method is to deal with subjects like conduct towards animals, behaviour towards inferiors and superiors, presence of mind, modesty, benevolence, truth and heroism, principally by means of narratives*³⁸.

I deal with the latter first. In contrast to France, there was no centrally directed, concerted attempt to teach personal or social conduct through schools in Scotland between 1872 and 1945. There was no Scottish equivalent to the mandated curricula in *morale* which obtained in the France of the Third Republic³⁹. (Even the Advisory Council on Education convened during the Second World War by then Secretary of State Tom Johnston as an equivalent to his "industrial parliament"⁴⁰ or Council on Industry to plan for post-war reconstruction⁴¹ failed to reach any very definite conclusions on how and what to teach in classes on civics and secular ethical behaviour⁴².) The large number of explicitly moralistic texts produced pre-1872 by the Scottish School-Book Association [SSBA], formed originally in 1818⁴³ to allow its membership of school teachers to help each other while helping themselves in producing some sort of universal curriculum by printing textbooks prepared by and for teachers⁴⁴, gradually gave way after 1872 to less frequent and open moralising. (The SSBA itself, which had

grown from its origins to be both a publishing house and a fully-fledged campaigning organisation by 1872, ceased operations in the early 1880s⁴⁵.) In the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s the two large and prosperous houses of Nelson and Chambers did produce moralising texts in some numbers⁴⁶ and Frederick Hackwood's *Notes of Lessons on Moral Subjects: A Handbook for Teachers in Elementary Schools* and the anonymous *Model Notes of Lessons for Class Teaching* stand out⁴⁷ as both interesting and typical in the context of their time. Hackwood's 1883 *Notes of Lessons on Moral Subjects* could be quite explicit.

*The pre-eminence of a MOTHER'S INFLUENCE
will be apparent to the youngest scholar, HOME AND
MOTHER SEEM INSEPARABLE.....girls
should grow up with WISDOM AND VIRTUE IN THEIR
FINGER-ENDS, not only to know how to MANIPULATE
EVERY HOUSEHOLD OBJECT but to have the
INCLINATION AND THE WILLINGNESS to do it⁴⁸.
[original emphasis]*

Model Notes of Lessons was less emphatic but equally sure that, for example, "Dwellings....enable families to live together in privacy....[and] secure the safety of property"⁴⁹ and this too was very clearly intended to further the domestic ideal from which it drew. Both books sit securely in a general pattern of domestic moralising in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Books such as these were meant not for pupils but for teachers in that they are instructional works suggesting lessons which might be taught rather than setting texts which had to be read. It is now all but impossible to gauge how often or how fully the lessons proposed in such works as *Model Notes* or *Notes of Lessons* were put into action in classrooms. Books for young children to read themselves designed to impart moral messages were being produced certainly from the 1880s⁵⁰ and continued to appear till the 1920s⁵¹, but the significance of these may have been far greater amongst the colonists of empire such as in New South Wales where the emphasis

on fostering civic values was greater amongst those who were in the very process of building 'civilisation'⁵².

The specifically female content of the civics textbooks (whether model lessons for teachers or books for pupils) is slim, girls/women were conspicuously unlikely to be mentioned with the effect that, subtly, persuasively it emerged that those who were lacking from civics textbooks neither were nor were entitled to be full citizens. However, quantitatively more important for most Scottish girls between 1872 and 1945 would have been the elementary historical reading books or readers. It is to these that I turn next. (I say 'more important' here in the sense that, for the reason I have suggested above, many more girls were exposed to the latter category of books than the former so that this is not a qualitative judgement of importance and the qualitative importance of the exclusion of girls/women from civics texts - emphasising what might be called their invisibility in the public sphere - should not be forgotten.)

Teaching elementary history and geography largely through the medium of English lessons was a common arrangement in Scotland throughout our period. The assumption that history and geography could be covered under the head of English was even built into the structure of examinations for older children from the first Leaving Certificate in 1888⁵³. Geography readers were certainly produced from the 1890s⁵⁴, though not necessarily before then, but the two subjects were often treated as one for elementary purposes and a separate elementary history curriculum was rare in the 1870s and 1880s⁵⁵ and for quite some time thereafter. In 1908 the SED was emphasising the need to teach history to children under twelve using English readers and in combination with geography and the use of objects of historical significance which the children could see and understand in a watered down version of Johan Friederich Herbart's system of 'object lessons'⁵⁶. Belief in the efficacy of this approach which collapses history

and geography together and used lessons in either/both to teach reading skills seems to have remained in place throughout the Scottish school system until the 1940s⁵⁷.

So far as girls were concerned, the 'lessons of history' could be brutal in their assumptions. In the 1890s a Chambers' history explained the War of the Austrian Succession by saying that the French and the Prussians, "having only a woman to deal with....thought it a good opportunity for seizing portions of [Austria's] territory"⁵⁸. There are similar sentiments expressed about the inevitability of power struggles following from female leadership such as that of the Empress Maud in Nelson's *Simple History of England in Reading Lessons*⁵⁹. As with the civics texts cited above, others may wish to make more of such prose texts/lessons than I have here but for my own part I do not feel disposed to go further than this.

However, the historical/geographical content in such readers was always slim and simple, the purpose always being no more than an exercise in reading, comprehension and vocabulary with the teaching of a historical or geographic lesson as a bonus. Books teaching historical topics in themselves, rather than readers, generally seem to have little to say about women and as these books dealt in the public and the political, theatres where the ideology of domesticity (by definition) discouraged female participation, this is perhaps to be expected. By far and away the most influential school history text in Scotland in the Victorian and Edwardian periods was Collier's *History of the British Empire*⁶⁰ which remained in seemingly continual reprint from 1859 till at least 1907 - during which time the empire itself grew several-fold⁶¹. It was not at all uncommon for school textbooks to continue being reprinted over generations in this way. Alexander Law mentions one published first in 1827 which was in its fifty-third edition by 1882 and while this may have been some sort of record it seems not to have been

altogether exceptional⁶². Collier had certainly ceased to be in print by 1918 when a wistful retrospective in *The Scotsman* mused that:

*calm and dispassionate judgements may be all
very well in pronouncements from a University chair, but
these are not the qualities which boys (or girls for that
matter) seek after in the pages of history.....they
revel in drum and trumpet history*⁶³.

In the 1880s and 1890s at least, the anonymous critic goes on to insist, it was "'Collier' first, the rest nowhere"⁶⁴. Emphasising the enduring nature of some favoured texts, Kathryn Castle has commented on the "long shelf life of history textbooks" in particular and remarks on the success, year after year and generation after generation of "those which had secured the approval of examining boards [in England - there being only the SED setting nationally recognised exams in Scotland] and sold well". She adds: "Some pre-First World War texts were still found in schools in the 1960s"⁶⁵.

If there was a shift away from drum and trumpet history in the inter-war years then this may be reflected in the growth of teaching in elementary social history such as Susan Cunningham's contribution to the Nelson *Highroads of History*, her *Highroads of Social History*⁶⁶. (Though anyone who has trodden them may rather think that the paths of social history are the low roads of darkness and difficulty.) She was prepared to argue that distinctive aspects of female life have often been disregarded by historians and she gives the specific example of the effect of the Henrician Revolution in England dissolving convents as well as monasteries and thus ending centres of specifically female life and labour⁶⁷. Thus there is evidence of evolution and change, just as Clark detects⁶⁸ even in the socially conservative "stale-mated society" of Third Republic France but only of a limited nature⁶⁹. Taken overall, these elementary school texts and the curricula which they represent are significant not for anything that they do but for

everything that they fail to do. They conform and confirm rather than confound. They are complicit in maintaining gender roles only insofar as they are complacent in tone and content. They do not ruthlessly confine but nor do they stretch. The continual reprints of selected texts suggests nothing more sinister than laziness born of commercial success on the part of the texts' producers (authors and publishers) and an equally conspicuous intellectual laziness on the part of their users (teachers and educational bureaucrats). The point made concerning school poetry, above, is equally applicable here.

I turn next to examinations for older children in the 'arts subjects' of English, history, geography and languages particularly in the years between 1918 and 1939. I choose these dates because they represent the latter portion of our period when the Leaving Certificate examinations had their greatest and widest impact. I exclude the war years themselves because exam arrangements became confused then for self-evident reasons. It may be that the tone set for Scottish state schooling by the redoubtable Craik was one which ensured that "fewer academic subjects were taught to most students, while more academic subjects were taken to a higher level by a few"⁷⁰, but his nationwide Leaving Certificate introduced in 1888 did put an end to the "plethora of oral and written examinations set by professional and public bodies"⁷¹. It also effectively functioned as a more or less mandatory national curriculum for most schooling beyond the legal minimum age. The demands of an examination do not make for a curriculum as such, they only show the winning tape and they do not specify how the course of the race is to be run, but the effect of a central bureaucracy imposing an exam structure can be much the same as that of imposing a curriculum.

As outlined previously, it was from 1918 that the Scottish school system most closely conformed to the apparent plan of the bureaucracy which directed it. The bureaucracy used the examination system to exercise control even over those

schools for which it was not formally responsible and seems to have been keen to exclude small private schools from participation in its exams because they were not part of its national plan. Whether this was the result of a sincere desire to build the best national system possible or the product of official bloody mindedness⁷², the SED's exams did operate as a force for cohesion and conformity. From 1918 (with the Catholic schools now on board as well) the pre-university examinations set for the oldest pupils had been simplified from its 1888 organisation of three levels - Lower, Higher and Honours - to a two tier Lower and Higher system, the Honours award (candidates for which sat Higher papers and then extra papers) having been dropped in 1907. It was possible to sit the easier Lower from the age of twelve and to gain an Intermediate Certificate at fifteen having notched up at least three years schooling over and above the legal minimum and having passed a Higher exam in at least one subject in that time. The complete Leaving Certificate went not to the swift but to the strong - those who ran the race to the full, having attained the age of seventeen, completed five years of post-compulsory education and have won awards in five Higher subjects. Before 1908 and after 1925 history and geography were recognised as subjects only by being incorporated in the English examinations⁷³. From 1932 there was also a Higher general examination which combined elements of history and English and which was apparently intended for those interested only in receiving the minimal Intermediate Certificate.

I concentrate here on the examination questions set between 1918 and 1939 but I refer back to relevant papers and questions from 1888 to show the development of certain strands of questioning from the earliest days. The visibility of historically significant women in SED examinations between 1918 and 1939 was low. Standardly one well known female name might crop up, as in the history component of the 1935 English Lower, amidst a list of males and the candidate would be invited to write something on one or more of those named. In 1935 the

choices included Frederick Barbarossa, the Black Prince and, a regular favourite, Joan of Arc⁷⁴. Such a question had first been set in 1889 when the woman in the list was the Lady Jane Grey⁷⁵. What was to become a veritable Joan of Arc obsession had its origins in the 1898 Lower⁷⁶. Other women often included in this way were Mary Stewart⁷⁷, Margaret of Hungary and Florence Nightingale. Sometimes the approach in a question about or including mention of a woman might be thematic ("Indicate the importance of any three of the following:- The Peasants' Revolt; the career of Joan of Arc; the fall of the House of Douglas; the English cloth industry in the Middle Ages; the invention of printing"⁷⁸), but most often the tone was biographical and personal ("Write a Composition....[in which] Mary Queen of Scots describes to a friend at the French court her return to Scotland"⁷⁹). It was however a rogues gallery which put Emmeline Pankhurst alongside Adolf Hitler and Earl Haig as subjects for literary/historical biographies in the 1934 general Higher⁸⁰.

From the 1930s, but not before, there were English Composition questions quite blatantly aimed at girls which do contain an obviously ideological content. In 1932 the task was to: "Write a Composition....on....An Ideal Home"⁸¹; in 1935: "Write a Composition on....The pleasures of having lessons at school in....Cookery and Laundrywork"⁸²; 1937 brought: "describe how to cook and serve a three course luncheon"⁸³ and 1939: "[give a] description of a farmyard or of a church or of your classroom or of your mother's kitchen"⁸⁴. The use of these questions is most obvious and most blatant in the general Highers of 1935, 1937 and 1939 and it is evident in context that they are aimed at candidates of assumed lesser ability than those sitting the more academic English exam. Choices seemingly intended for 'less able' boys in these general papers include "Write a Composition on....The pleasures of....benchwork"⁸⁵ and the almost surreal, if bloodthirsty, theme "Wallace's two handed sword tells its story"⁸⁶.

However such questions had been anticipated as far back as 1897 (only five years after the introduction of discursive and imaginative essay writing exercises) when the essay choice in Higher and Honours English was between: "(a) The changes which steam-power has wrought" and "(b)...the most useful foreign language to study"⁸⁷. In a period (the end of the nineteenth century) when the number of girls sitting public examinations was still negligible this is less blatantly a gender specific question than the 'domestic science' questions of the 1930s but it is a noticeable drawing of distinctions between the mechanical/manly world of steam and the gregarious/girlish world of foreign language study (long a mainstay of a genteel lady's education). This separation of spheres was emphasised again in 1900 when, perhaps in some response to the militarised climate of those Boer War times, the English Lower set the challenge of producing an essay: "[discussing t]he influence of climate on national character" or giving: "A comparison of the present methods of warfare with those of an earlier century"⁸⁸. This was followed in 1901 by the obviously gender differentiated choice of: "A comparison of the navy and the army as careers" or: "A character sketch of an acquaintance"⁸⁹.

So far as languages either classical or modern (other than English) are concerned, content relevant for present purposes seems non-existent with references to women in translation passages included for grammatical reasons rather than any others. However, in the 1916 Latin exam, candidates were required to translate into Latin sentences one of which concerns a woman who "prefers death to ignominious surrender"⁹⁰; to whom or what she might have been expected to surrender is unclear. I shall thus say nothing here about languages nor shall I say anything about the teaching of arithmetic and mathematics, two of only very few academic subjects or fields of inquiry which can lay any claim to being value neutral - though even that assumption *has* been disputed with the suggestion that there can be culturally specific mathematics⁹¹. It is worth noting that

McDougall's did produce a rare example of gender specific texts in the curiously titled *Girls Suggestive Arithmetics* series⁹² of the 1920s which aimed to teach elementary arithmetic and geometry through examples of things assumed to be familiar to girls such as sewing patterns. (It remains unclear whether this was an attempt to impart 'useful knowledge' for those who would need mathematics/arithmetic only for domestic purposes or to 'humanise' a subject which any child might find difficult in the abstract but either way this seems to have been an isolated example.) I do however return in my sixth chapter to the apparent steering of girls from Higher examinations in the prestigious mathematical subjects and the significance of this.

I turn next to the sciences. Lewis Grassie Gibbon/James Leslie Mitchell insisted that there was no elementary science taught in his experience ("Science did not exist") and this may have been so (there is no reason to doubt him), but texts explaining scientific topics to young children were being produced in Scotland from the 1820s⁹³, and Chambers in particular had an interest in producing these from the 1840s⁹⁴. Robert Chambers himself (the 'R' of 'W & R' Chambers in that company's full name) is credited with an interest in biology which allowed him to anticipate Darwin with his own speculations on the origins of species in 1844⁹⁵. Walter Humes has even detected an intellectual climate in Scotland "generally favourable....to evolutionary biology"⁹⁶ from the 1870s. He argues also that there were concerted (and successful) efforts to introduce principles of scientific psychology into the organisation of Scotland's school, through the efforts of such figures as James Donaldson, Principal of the University of St Andrews⁹⁷, and Alexander Bain⁹⁸ (founder of the influential journal of philosophy and psychology *Mind* and a true lad o' pairts who "Overcoming poverty....[had] managed to study at Aberdeen University"⁹⁹) from around the same time.

However in practice in schools, the sciences remained in low regard at both elementary and higher levels until 1926, when physics, chemistry, botany, physiology and zoology became properly examined subjects for the Leaving Certificate. Previously they had been only grudgingly admitted as subjects which might be marked 'in-house' by school staff, subject to the external marking of the SED. Haphazard provision before then makes the significance of school science teaching in Scotland (at whatever level) difficult to assess. J M McCulloch's popularity from the 1820s to the 1880s with his *Course of Elementary Reading in Science and Literature, Compiled from Popular Writers; with an Appendix: Comprising a Vocabulary of Scientific Terms, and a List of the Prefixes, Affixes, and Principal Latin and Greek Roots of the English Language*¹⁰⁰ reminds us that most sciences have not been free standing subjects for any more than a century. Despite the opposition of biological and evolutionary populariser Herbert Spencer to classical subjects which he apparently considered effete and unworthy¹⁰¹, biology in particular, with its grammar of classical taxonomies, was as much a branch of classical scholarship as a discipline in its own right certainly till the 1920s.

Not the first, but certainly still the most trenchant critic of division and suspicion between arts and sciences, C P Snow, acknowledged in the 1950s that "Thirty years ago the [two] cultures.....still managed a kind of frozen smile across the gulf"¹⁰². A 'frozen smile across the gulf' is a rhetorical description and certainly under-represents the degree of scientific dependence on classical scholarship and classicists's methods of teaching and learning through strict order which obtained until the 1920s. D'Arcy Wentworth Thomas, professor of zoology first at Dundee and then at St Andrews from 1917, was accounted as great a classical scholar as a scientist and his published works include glossaries of Greek names for birds and fish and translations of Aristotle's scientific writing¹⁰³. Even Lewis Grassie Gibbon/James Leslie Mitchell from whom the scene-setting passages for this

chapter come was self taught in both classics and biology, which he combined in his belief in the possibility of studying human society as an evolutionary mechanism¹⁰⁴. R D Anderson points out that there was not necessarily any 'Oxbridge' preference for classics over sciences in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries skewing British culture as a whole, and that while Oxford may have remained opposed to teaching and research in the sciences for quite some time, Cambridge treated classics, mathematics and sciences on an equal footing from the turn of the twentieth century¹⁰⁵. However, for as long as the route into the sciences was through classical scholarship, girls were excluded from both. Domina, the girl with whom Gibbon/Mitchell's character Malcolm Maudsley "used to head the bursary lists"¹⁰⁶ leaves Dundon and becomes a research chemist in the 1920s, but belongs to only the first generation of women for whom this was really possible¹⁰⁷.

Prior to 1918, throughout Britain as a whole, "botany was the dominant and occasionally the only science taught [to girls]"¹⁰⁸. From the 1920s to the 1940s, twin but opposed currents of opinion moved to increase the extent of school biology teaching, particularly in the study of animal rather than plant life. On the one hand, Patrick Geddes argued for "Biology....aiding the complexer human studies [through] its simpler yet underlying parallelisms to....social life"¹⁰⁹ but "Geddes operated on his own initiative, outside official channels"¹¹⁰. Coming closer to being officially sanctioned was an argument in which biological knowledge was to be distributed through schools to improve future social health. This was not simply a technical matter of ensuring that schools themselves were healthy places (well lit, well ventilated and so forth) - though that was in itself a subject of endless and not unworthy bureaucratic fascination from the 1870s and before¹¹¹. Rather, there were arguments given in favour of using school biology for implementing a 'half hidden' curriculum in the manner of David Stow.

This international movement took its lead from figures such as G Stanley Hall¹¹² and Thomas B Rice¹¹³ and certainly had a British manifestation in James Kerr (Medical Officer to the trend setting London School Board¹¹⁴) and his book *The Fundamentals of School Health*¹¹⁵. Inter alia, Kerr advanced the project of using school biology in such a way that various ideas "would be gradually built into the child's subconsciousness for use when needed"¹¹⁶ and thus proposed a version of Stow's methods though for quite new purposes. The project common to Hall, Rice and Kerr (and shared by many of the early twentieth century advocates of contraceptive education¹¹⁷) was that of ensuring that girls had sufficient understanding of their own and others' biology to equip them to be good mothers. I shall say little more about this international movement except that there is no particular evidence of its ideas for school biology being adopted in Scotland. Only in the limited sense that the British Social Hygiene Council had some success in lobbying for increased teaching of biology at all school levels in the 1930s¹¹⁸ did its rhetoric come close to being realised. In fact the principal drive behind school biology remained academic and geared towards the needs of training future doctors until the 1960s¹¹⁹. As with the lack of an alternative voice in English teaching and in historical outlook, the significance of the school curriculum which did operate in Scotland where biology is concerned is negative rather than positive. It discriminated as to useful knowledge for girls and did not promote equality of opportunity but it did not operate (nor was it designed to operate) in such a way that it advanced a superficially progressive but actually conservative project such as was shared by Hall, Rice, Kerr et al. The status quo was nowhere challenged by the use of school curricula in sciences any more so than in any other subject.

I turn now to other aspects of school curriculum in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 - physical education and schooling in the domestic arts or sciences of cooking, laundry and so forth. Ian Thomson characterises late nineteenth and

early twentieth century debate on the nature of school physical education at elementary level and in the higher state schools as being "between those who favoured a medical bias for exercise and others who wanted to introduce compulsory military training"¹²⁰. He finds also that "The case for military training in schools had been essentially rejected by 1905...[by] the Scottish [sic - *Scotch* till 1918] Education Department"¹²¹. This may be true; certainly most teachers, many school boards and the ever influential Inspectorate had adopted a position which opposed military drill and the transformation of playgrounds into parade grounds by 1905¹²², but the topic was still being hotly debated in parliament in 1918. The SED even thought it necessary to issue an emphatic Memorandum on the topic, spelling out its opposition to the school yard drill, as late as 1920. While the Inspectorate and the Scottish education bureaucracy remained calm in the face of a great deal of hysterical rhetoric on the subject of the supposedly pressing need for the militarisation of school physical education, both Craik and Struthers revealed themselves susceptible to such rhetoric and capable of producing some of their own to match¹²³.

In the immediate wake of the Boer Wars it was certainly their officials who kept in check the most senior men in the education administration and politicians such as the then Secretary of State for Scotland, Balfour of Burleigh, who was equally keen to adopt the rhetoric of national crisis and argue that schools must militarise¹²⁴. Such is the nature of the rhetoric surrounding this issue that it can be easy, perhaps too easy, to spend time on colourful characters such as the piratical sounding Captain Forster (he seems not to have had a first name) author of the 1905 "long awaited handbook 'The Syllabus of Physical Training in Schools'"¹²⁵ as described in a recent paper by Thomas Velek. Alternatively there is William Walker who published his own *Manual of Musical, Physical and Squad Drill for Boys, Girls and Cadets* in 1902 and who had been organising mass drill exhibitions of Govan school board pupils since the 1890s¹²⁶. However

the fact that a great deal of sound and fury came from Forster, Walker et al and even that they enjoyed support from influential figures such as Craik, Struthers and Balfour of Burleigh, signifies nothing of itself. In opposition to this lobby were those who favoured the more modest approach of introducing physical education to schools for the benefit of children themselves rather than the country as a whole - those with Thomson's "medical bias" and it was they who proved successful in the long run (largely by dint of the Inspectorate's support).

This debate does however matter for present purposes because had Scottish schools gone down the road of embracing militarisation there would certainly have been a widening of gender divisions. The Australian compulsory cadet force organised through schools was exclusively male¹²⁷. Even without militarisation, physical education in Scotland's schools was segregated but there was not the visible and marked distinction which would inevitably have resulted from using schools as training grounds for boys in the arts of war. Furthermore, in practice, the provision of physical education in Scotland's schools between 1872 and 1945 may have been haphazard. It is rarely mentioned in autobiographical sources¹²⁸. The girls' public schools in Scotland did adopt a games culture as vigorous as that of the boys' schools of England but, as we have seen, this means only St Leonard's and, to a lesser extent, St George's¹²⁹.

Finally then, what can be said of the teaching of domestic subjects in schools in the period? In particular I discuss here the argument evolved by Helen Corr to the effect that the introduction of these subjects into school curricula was largely at the behest of committed feminists. These women hoped, Corr argues, that a coherent body of knowledge in these subjects would be taken seriously and would allow those who possessed that knowledge to be taken seriously in turn. Organised provision for instruction in domestic subjects for girls in Scotland can be dated as far back as the founding of the Merchant Maidens' Hospital in the

1690s¹³⁰, but Corr dates its growth to "the late nineteenth century...[when] a minority of female intellectuals [began]....campaigning for the provision of domestic economy for girls in elementary schools....[as] a distinct and specific area within the curriculum where women could exercise power and influence"¹³¹. Certainly, if this had ever been the case, the message did not seem to be getting through to Morag Croll and those like her at what we might call the sharp end of needlework. As with physical education and sciences, the possibility of the teaching of domestic subjects having a concerted impact was always limited by their haphazard provision, often limited by cost¹³², and there is evidence of frequent though not universal parental resistance to subjects considered either better taught by mothers at home or inappropriate for girls intent on more intellectual study¹³³. Annmarie Turnball argues that "teaching [domestic subjects] abounded with contradictions"¹³⁴ as there was no clear, unified sense of their utility. By the 1930s the Ministry of Labour was promoting them as important routes into employment for girls/women through work in such fields as the management of commercial laundries¹³⁵, but the underlying fact that female employment in Britain between the 1880s and the 1950s remained static overall discredits any suggestion that they were a significant source of many new job opportunities¹³⁶. There remained "an enormous gulf between the intentions of those who promoted [domestic subjects]....and their achievements"¹³⁷. But overall, while Corrr's argument may not be wrong, as do arguments on the influence and importance of physical education, it may overstate its own case by confusing the facts of bureaucratic provision for some subject and the experience of that subject's actual implementation¹³⁸.

Laying aside curriculum, in the sense of 'subjects studied', what of the significance of school organisation as a feature of Scotland's hidden curriculum for girls between 1872 and 1945? Here there seem to be opposed dynamics in that girls being taught by women did have the experience of seeing a woman "take

responsibility and control over....not only her own life, but the lives of a section of the community"¹³⁹ but equally, they saw those women in positions inferior to male teachers and rector/dominies¹⁴⁰. In particular the prohibition on married female teachers remaining in their posts unless they were sole bread winners of very needy families which began in Glasgow in 1915¹⁴¹ and which had become universally practised and universally accepted in Scotland by the onset of the 1930s¹⁴², emphasised the limitation of expectations for women.

Knowing the extent to which any or all of the topics detailed above actually had significance in the lives and learning of girls in Scotland in the period 1872 to 1945 is problematic; a fact acknowledged by others who have undertaken similar work¹⁴³. It is certainly wrong to cast those girls/women who were on the receiving end of this material as passive victims¹⁴⁴ who accepted all they were told uncritically and learned their lessons without demur. It does also bear saying that present day educational sociology emphasises the cumulative effect of many small, even apparently trivial incidence of classroom gender division, labelling and reinforcement of stereotypes and norms. Many of these, especially amongst young children, do seem to be associated with types of teaching and learning absent in Scottish schools in the period 1872 to 1945. Thus, the less mobile classroom environments of that time seem unlikely to have played host to various gender related micro dramas in which, as Sara Delamont describes, teachers regularly tell children to move from one activity to another in groups of all and only boys or all and only girls, to do so for no good reason except that it seems obvious to them to divide classes in this way. Such mobility is a feature of the 'child centred' but not of the 'traditional' classroom. Equally, when teachers spoke less often and perhaps less freely to their classes the many minor, but cumulatively significant, instances of language being used to reinforce ideas as to gender roles which Delamont records may also have been absent¹⁴⁵. (Work by Delamont and others has drawn these facts to the attention of many contemporary teachers but such

gender differentiation remains a significant fact of school life but while it is true that the less mobile classroom typical of the period 1872 to 1945 probably reduced quantitatively the incidences of gender differentiation in relations between teachers and pupils, this aspects of the hidden curriculum remains qualitatively very significant.)

Thus, to summarise, in the Scotland of 1872 to 1945 many aspects of what can be called gendered curriculum (as described above) were undoubtedly present and this must be taken to represent the single largest sense in which girls educated in Scotland in that period were 'lassies apart'.

NOTES

[1] This work draws on the collection of school texts books in the Museum of Childhood, Edinburgh.

[2] Linda Clark "The Socialization of Girls in the Primary Schools of the Third Republic" *Journal of Social History* vol 15 no 2 1981 p 692; see also idem "The Primary Education of French Girls: Pedagogical Prescriptions and Social Realities, 1880-1940" *History of Education Quarterly* vol 21 no 4 1981 p 411.

[3] Anna Darvin "'Mind that you do as you are told': Board School Girls, 1870-1902" *The Feminist Review* no 3 1979 p 98.

[4] David Hamilton *Learning About Education: An Unfinished Curriculum* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1990) p 22.

[5] Ibid p 45.

[6] Ibid p 56.

[7] Of the large body of material available on schools and curricula in Nazi Germany, see, for example, James Bowen *A History of Western Education* vol III (London: Methuen & Co, 1981) pp 478-483, Dorothea McEwan "Struwwelhitler: A Nazi Story Book" *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* vol 76 no 3 autumn 1994 & Lisa Pine "Nazism in the Classroom" *History Today* vol 47 no 3 April 1997 pp 22-27.

On parallel developments in Fascist Italy see Bowen op cit pp 470-477 & G de Ruggiero "Italy under Fascism" in G B Jeffrey [ed] *The Yearbook of Education: 1948* (London: The University of London Institute of Education/Evans Brothers, 1948) pp 566-577 and on Soviet Russia, see Bowen op cit 484-521.

[8] Clark op cit "The Socialization...." p 686.

[9] Bowen op cit p 544.

[10] Michael Kaye "Un-intentional Education in Modern Society" *The Sociological Review* vol XXXV nos 1 & 2 January-April 1943.

The origin of the idea may be even older than Kaye. In 1935, the influential school doctor and educationalist James Kerr (see note [114] below) was arguing that many influences contributed to making up the structure of "unconscious and almost indelible education....[which is] more important than what the teacher is consciously setting forth" - James Kerr *Annual Proceedings and Report* [of the Medical Officers of Schools Association] 1935 quoted in Carolyn Steedman *Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1932* (London: Virago Press, 1990) p 217.

[11] Michael Apple *Ideology and Curriculum* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979) p 11.

[12] Walter M Humes "Science, Religion and Education: A Study in Cultural Interaction" in idem et Hamish Paterson [eds] *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education: 1800-1980* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983) p 118.

[13] Ibid p 82.

[14] Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt *A Companion to Scottish History* (London: B T Batsford, 1989) p 178.

[15] David Stow *Supplement to Moral Training and the Training System* (Glasgow: W McPhun, 1839 [facsimile edition, Manchester: E J Morten, 1971]) p 20.

[16] Nigel Grant and Walter Humes "Scottish Education: 1700-2000" in Paul H Scott [ed] *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1993) pp 365-366.

I return in chapter six to Stow and corporal punishment in Scotland's schools.

[17] Jack Webster "Introduction" in Lewis Grassie Gibbon *The 13th Disciple* (Edinburgh: B & W Publishing, 1931/1995) p ix.

[18] Lewis Grassie Gibbon op cit pp 15-16.

[19] Jack Webster "Introduction" in ibid p viii.

[20] Grassie Gibbon op cit p 42.

[21] Webster op cit in ibid p x.

Gibbon may have been more than a little bitter about his own academic career and affected an exaggerated disdain for those whose post school intellectual progress had been more conventional than his own. One critic has noted that "An author who [as he did] can talk of Scottish publishing houses as 'generally staffed by those who in Bengali circles would write after their names, and as their chief qualification, 'failed BA' (or slightly worse 'MA St Andrews')....[is] setting up and destroying his [own] paper tigers" - Ian Campbell *Lewis Grassie Gibbon* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985) p 50.

[22] Morag Croll, personal communication 18th May 1994.

[23] See also Mary G Clarke [b 1881] who is at pains to make the same point in her autobiographical recollections of education first at a residual dame school and then at the High School for Girls in Aberdeen - idem *A Short Life of Ninety Years* (Edinburgh: Astrid & Martin Higgins, 1973) p 13. She concurs with Gibbon also in minimising the significance of science ("only a name...[with] experiments which

invariably failed" - *ibid* p 13) though she recalls that, at higher level at least, she and her fellow pupils "Worked assiduously at Art" - *ibid* p 13.

[24] Ellen Alwall *The Religious Trend in Secular Scottish School-Books: 1850-1861 and 1873-1882* (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1970) p 140.

[25] *Ibid* p 11.

Lacking centralised prescribed reading lists such as those produced by the Ministry of Education in France, any such study is correspondingly more difficult for either Scotland or England - see Clark *op cit* "The Socialization....." p 686.

[26] Clark *op cit* "The Primary Education...." pp 425-426 note [14].

[27] Her work appears to suggest Thomas Campbell and William Cowper, along with Dryden, Wordsworth and Shakespeare, as some other of the most influential poets in the school curriculum in the period - Alwall *op cit* p 52.

[28] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English paper I section A question 1 (b) 1918.

[29] See Alwall *op cit* pp 113-114 for evidence of these being used in schools in the 1850s and thereafter.

[30] John Henry Raleigh "What Scott Meant to the Victorians" *Victorian Studies* vol III 1963-1964 p 19.

[31] Dorothea Felicia Hemans *Poems of Felicia Hemans* (Edinburgh: Basil Blackwell, 1849) & *idem Mrs Hemans' Young Woman's Companion, or Female Instructor; Being a Summary of Useful Knowledge Calculated to Form the Intellectual, the Moral, and the Domestic Character* (London: George Virtue, 1840).

For a general study of this genre of conduct manuals, see Lynne Vallone *Disciplines of Virtue: Girls' Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Yale University Press, 1995).

[32] Lewis Grassie Gibbon *A Scots Quair* (London: Pan Books, first published as a collection 1946/1982) p 33.

[33] See Alwall *op cit* p 100.

[34] Michael Lynch *Scotland: A New History* (London: Pimlico, 1991/1994) p 355.

[35] Alexander Law "Scottish Schoolbooks of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries: Part II" *Studies in Scottish Literature* vol XIX 1981-1982 p 66.

[36] W J Mickle in J C Smith [ed] *A Book of Verse for Boys and Girls* part II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924) pp 103-104.

[37] Rosemary Goring [ed] *Chambers Scottish Biographical Dictionary* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1992) p 312.

[38] Law op cit p 68.

[39] Clark op cit "The Socialization...." p 686.

[40] Michael Fry *Patronage and Principle: A Political History of Modern Scotland* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987/1991) p 187.

[41] Andrew McPherson "An Angle on the Geist: Persistence and Change in the Scottish Educational Tradition" in Humes and Paterson [eds] op cit p 225.

[42] Papers of the Sixth Advisory Council on Education, Committee on Citizenship (1942-1942) ED8/44.

The power to convene a Council of "persons qualified to represent the views of various bodies interested in education" had been vested in the Secretary of State since 1918 and derived from the Act of that year [section 20].

[43] Douglas Myers "Scottish Schoolmasters in the Nineteenth Century: Professionalism and Politics" in Humes and Paterson [eds] op cit p 83.

[44] Alwall op cit pp 37-40 & Law op cit p 65.

[45] Alwall op cit p 37.

[46] Law op cit p 71.

[47] Frederick W Hackwood *Notes of Lessons on Moral Subjects: A Handbook for Teachers in Elementary Schools* (Edinburgh: T Nelson & Sons, 1883) & *Model Notes of Lessons for Class Teaching* (Edinburgh: T Nelson & Sons, 1890).

[48] Hackwood op cit pp 31-32.

[49] *Model Notes* op cit p 105.

[50] H O Arnold-Foster *The Citizen Reader for the Use of Schools (Revised Scottish Education)* (London: Cassell & Co, 1885).

It is not entirely clear what these revisions for the Scottish market consisted in as it certainly mentions no specifically Scottish material.

[51] J R Peddie *The British Citizen: A Book for Young Readers* (Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1920).

[52] S G Firth "Social Values in the New South Wales Primary School, 1880-1914: An Analysis of School Texts" *Melbourne Studies in Education* 1970 pp 123-125 & 146.

More generally on school texts and other 'literature of empire' for children, see Kathryn Castle *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism Through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

[53] Alwall op cit pp 45 & 47 & B J Elliot "Early Examination Reform in Scotland and the Crisis in History: 1888-1939" *Journal of Educational Administration and History* vol XXIV no I 1992 p 48.

[54] Alwall op cit pp 141-142.

[55] Ibid p 141.

[56] Bowen op cit pp 238-241.

Herbart's original project of teaching through concrete displays of objects and demonstrations of ideas involved a complicated psychology in which there were five formal steps to comprehension which he borrowed from Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Kant - ibid pp 372-373. Whatever their merits, (Bowen calls them "clockwork....[and] no unquestioned triumph of education" - ibid p 375) Herbart's methods and psychology were progressively to be simplified in practice, particularly in the USA, to 'show and tell' lessons.

[57] Elliot op cit p 51.

He goes on to suggest that those running the Scottish system may have been "deeply perceptive educationalists who appreciated totally the horrendous problems of trying to teach history to children under the age of 16" (problems such as how to explain anything without explaining everything and how to make adult behaviour comprehensible to children when it is often barely comprehensible to other adults, problems which can only be magnified in dealing with those under the age of 12) - ibid p 55.

[58] *Chambers' Scottish Historical Readers: Stories and Biographies from British History, 1688 to the Present Time* (Edinburgh: W & R Chambers, 1899) p 5.

[59] *A Simple History of England in Reading Lessons* (Edinburgh: T Nelson & Sons, 1906) p 50.

[60] William Francis Collier *History of the British Empire* (Edinburgh: T Nelson & Sons, 1859/1875/1905/1907).

[61] In a certain sense, between the snatching of victory from the jaws of defeat in the Indian Mutiny of 1857-1858 and the snatching of a virtual defeat from the

jaws of victory in the Boer Wars ending in 1902, the empire both rose and fell. After that period (more or less the lifetime of the arch imperialist, Cecil Rhodes [1853-1902]) the British empire did not expand significantly except in taking on the largely unwelcome League of Nations Mandates after 1918.

[62] J M McCulloch *A Course of Elementary Reading*.... see Law op cit p 60 & p 64 for details of other 'best sellers'.

[63] *The Scotsman* "Collier's History: A Favourite School Book from the 'Eighties" 3rd August 1918.

The original reference from which the term "drum and trumpet history" comes appears to be in Thomas Morell's poem "Joshua" - "See, the conquering hero comes!/Sound the trumpets, beat the drums!". Morell's words were set to music by Handel as an allegory of the victory of Cumberland at Culloden.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Castle op cit pp 163 & 164.

[66] Susan Cunnington *Highroads of History: Social History* (T Nelson & Sons, nd c 1920s [?]).

[67] Ibid pp 67-68.

[68] Clark op cit "The Primary...." p 422.

[69] Ibid pp 419-420.

[70] Mary E Finn "Social Efficiency, Progressivism and Secondary Education in Scotland: 1885-1905" in Humes and Paterson [eds] op cit p 194.

[71] Elliot op cit p 45.

[72] Lindy Moore "The Aberdeen University Local Examinations: 1880-1911" *Northern Scotland* vol 15 1995 p 57 & Elliot op cit pp 47-48.

Elliot takes a rather more charitable line than Moore here and seems to suggest that the SED may have been acting in what it considered the national interest. Moore, by contrast, may be taken to imply that there was an almost malicious desire to obstruct private schools which wanted to present candidates for SED exams except in the case of a very few large independent schools of which Craik personally approved.

[73] Elliot op cit pp 52 & 54.

[74] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English paper III section B question 3 1935.

[75] Second Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English section I question 18 1889.

The Lower was briefly renamed the Second Grade between 1889 and 1891.

[76] Lower Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English section II question 10 1898.

[77] Restored to its original name, the 1891 Lower English paper saw the first of what were to become ubiquitous Mary Stewart questions: "Under what circumstances did Mary, Queen of Scots, marry and lose each of her husbands?...On what charge was she executed?" - Lower Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English section II question 17 1891.

[78] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English paper III section B (i) question 6 1929.

[79] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English paper I (Composition) 1929.

[80] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate general exam question 5 1934.

[81] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English paper I question 5 (a) 1932.

[82] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate general exam question 1 1935.

[83] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate general exam question 1 (a) 1937.

The girls of the Brodie set might have sat this paper as they were all around ten in 1930 though it seems unlikely that even the dullest of them, Mary Macgregor, would have been permitted to attempt such an inferior exam.

[84] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate general exam question 1 (a) 1939.

[85] 1935 general exam op cit question 1.

[86] Ibid question 1.

Strange though this question undoubtedly is, it had been anticipated by one even stranger in 1907: "Sir Walter Scott possessed a gun that had belonged to Rob Roy and a sword that had belonged to the Marquis of Montrose. Imagine a dialogue between these weapons" - Lower Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English section I question 2 (b) 1907.

[87] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English (and Honours Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English *paper I*) question 1 1897.

Candidates in Honours English sat the Higher exam as their first paper and then moved on to translations from Anglo-Saxon and more elaborate and taxing philological and literary questions.

[88] Lower Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English section I question 2 1900.

[89] Lower Grade Leaving Certificate exam in English section 1 question 2 1901.

[90] Higher Grade Leaving Certificate exam in Latin paper I question 1 1916.

[91] See Alan J Bishop "Western Mathematics: The Secret Weapon of Cultural Imperialism" *Race and Class* vol 32 no 2 1990.

[92] *McDougall's Girls' Suggestive Arithmetics* books I-IV (Edinburgh: McDougall's Educational Co, nd c 1920s).

[93] Law op cit pp 60 & 66.

[94] Ibid pp 66-69.

[95] Ibid p 69 & Walter M Humes "Science, Religion and Education: A Study in Cultural Interaction" in idem et Paterson [eds] op cit p 120.

[96] Ibid p 122.

[97] Ibid pp 122-123.

[98] Ibid p 125.

[99] Goring [ed] op cit p 21.

[100] Law op cit p 60.

[101] Bowen op cit pp 305-306.

[102] C P Snow "The Two Cultures" in idem *The Two Cultures and A Second Look* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, first published as a collection 1959/1964) p 17.

It has been argued that there was a preference in eighteenth and nineteenth century Scottish universities for the study of philosophy over classics and mathematics as the necessary precursor to the future study of *any* subject (including science[s]). However, even if this was so (and even if Scots were wiser to put their trust in rigorous philosophical learning), the most trenchant defender of that preference admits that it had been displaced by emphasis on the classics and mathematics in Scottish universities by the late 1880s - see George Davie *The Democratic Intellect* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961/1982) passim.

[103] Ibid p 162.

[104] R D Anderson *Universities and Elites in Britain since 1800* (London: Macmillan/The Economic History Society, 1992) pp 44-45.

[105] Angus Calder "A Mania for Self-Reliance': Grassie Gibbon's *Scots Quair*" in idem *Revolving Culture: Notes from the Scottish Republic* (London: I B Taurus, 1994) p 142 & Campbell op cit pp 35-43.

Gibbon actually believed that society was regressing or de-evolving but he arrived at this conviction from a combination of biological and classical studies. It is no accident that he has these ideas explained to his character Malcolm by another character, a Greek who, Virgil to Malcolm's Dante, takes him on a descent into the hell of human history. "[I]t's nonsense....All this evolutionary stuff.....Oh, not the biological part - our descent from the dear old ground-apes of the Miocene. But the belief that civilization is civilizing - it's a dream of aseptically pedants in the British Museum Reading Room....!"; "And yet there's meaning in it somewhere - our blind adventure in civilization's corridor of darkness. Somewhere.....there's light.....!" - Grassie Gibbon op cit pp 110 & 116. (The latter reference echoes Plato's cave and shows clearly that Gibbon had learned from the classical Greeks though he repudiated them as degenerate elsewhere.)

[106] Ibid p 163.

[107] Ibid p 29.

Naomi Mitchison, child of the scientific house of Haldane, was also a member of this first generation of female scientists though her career has since gone in other directions.

[108] E W Jenkins "The Development of School Biology: 1918-1945" *History of Education* vol III no 1 1979 p 59.

[109] Patrick Geddes and Arthur Thompson *Biology* (London: Williams & Northgate, 1925) p 152.

[110] Humes op cit in idem et Paterson [eds] op cit p 131.

[111] The High School of Glasgow *Syllabus of the Department of English Language and Literature* for 1838-1839 in the University of Glasgow Special Collections Department [MU 22-c.17] emphasises "short hours of schooling, [followed] by frequent intervals of cheerful exercise in the open air". In 1918 this concern for health through air and light was unchanged with, for example, Charlotte Fish emphasising that "classrooms should be sunny and spacious" - idem "The Aim and Outlook in the Secondary Education of Girls" in John Clark [ed] *Problems of National Education by Twelve Scottish Educationalists* (London: Macmillan & Co, 1919). This imperative to bring light and air to children throughout their schooldays reached its height in the 'boarding out' movement which I mention briefly in Bibliographical Supplement II and in the

open-air schools for those recovering from tuberculosis - see Linda Bryer "'Wonderlands of Buttercup, Clover and Daisies': Tuberculosis and the Open-Air School Movement in Britain, 1907-1939" in Roger Cooter [ed] *In the Name of the Child: Health and Welfare, 1800-1940* (London: Routledge, 1992).

[112] Bowen op cit p 394 & Patricia Vertinsky "Escape from Freedom: G Stanley Hall's Totalitarian Views on Female Health and Physical Education" *International Journal of the History of Sport* vol V no 1 1988.

[113] Gena Corea *The Mother Machine: Reproductive Technologies from Artificial Insemination to Artificial Wombs* (London: The Women's Press, 1985/1988) p 19.

[114] Ian Thomson "The Origins of Physical Education in State Schools" *Scottish Educational Review* vol X no 2 1978 p 19.

[115] James Kerr *The Fundamentals of School Health* (London: George Allan & Unwin, 1926).

A very influential figure in the history of the development of school and child health policies, Kerr had worked closely with educational and social reformer Margaret McMillan in Bradford in the 1890s. American born [1860] though brought up in Scotland, McMillan was destined to make her contribution to education and child welfare in England. On Kerr and McMillan - see Steedman op cit pp 46-47.

[116] Ibid p 378.

[117] Bonnie S Anderson and Judith P Zinsser *A History of their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* vol II (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988) pp 414-415 & June Rose Marie Stopes *and the Sexual Revolution* (London: Faber & Faber, 1992/1993) pp 134-135.

[118] Jenkins op cit pp 67-69.

[119] Ibid pp 72-73.

[120] Thompson op cit p 23.

[121] Ibid pp 17-18.

[122] Ibid p 18.

[123] Ibid p 18.

[124] Ibid p 17.

[125] Thomas Velek "War and Scottish Educational Reform: 1899-1908" paper presented at the Association for Scottish Historical Studies conference on Scotland and War, Perth 1995 p 70.

[126] William Walker *Manual of Musical, Physical and Squad Drill for Boys, Girls and Cadets* (Partick: John Tomlinson, 1902).

[127] See David Kirk and Karen Twigg "The Militarization of School Physical Training in Australia: the Rise and Fall of the Junior Cadet Training Scheme" *History of Education* vol 22 no 4 1993.

[128] Taking a sample of some of the principal sources used in preceding and forthcoming chapters (all of which contain a greater or lesser quantity and quality of material on Scottish childhoods between 1872 and 1945) I find references to physical education in school in very few of them. Only one respondent in my own survey chose to mention physical education in any detail and she was keen to stress that "'Gym'...was not the 'drill' we hear about today" - Kathleen H Blacklaws [b 1920] # 5. Amongst autobiographers only Mary Clarke makes much mention of physical education and this takes up no more than a sentence - Clarke op cit p 13. With equally little (or less) to say are female autobiographies and oral history collections such as: Elizabeth Bryson *Look Back in Wonder* (Dundee: David Winter & Son, 1966/1979); Jenny Chaplin *Tales of a Glasgow Childhood* (Beaulieu: Businesslike, 1994); Evelyn Cowan *Spring Remembered: A Scottish Jewish Childhood* (Edinburgh: Southside, 1974); Jean Faley [ed] *Up Oor Close: Memories of Domestic Life in Glasgow Tenements: 1910-1945* (Glasgow: Springburn Museum Trust/White Cockade Publishing, 1990); Marilyn Gillies Carr *Look No Hands!* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1982); Marjorie Graham *Love Dears! The Memoirs of a Former Chorus Line Girl* (London: Dennis Dobson, 1980); Antony Kamm and Anne Lean [eds] *A Scottish Childhood: 70 Famous Scots Remember* (Glasgow: Wm Collins/Save the Children Fund, 1985); Christian Miller *A Childhood in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1981/1989); Willa Muir *Belonging: A Memoir* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1968); Jean Rennie *Every Other Sunday: The Autobiography of a Kitchen-Maid* (London: Arthur Baker, 1955); Elizabeth C Sherry *Highland and Other Jottings by Lizzie Kate* (Durham: Pentland Press, 1994); Dorothy Slee *Two Generations of Edinburgh Folk* (Edinburgh: Canongate/European Ethnological Research Centre/National Museums of Scotland, 1993) Anne Smith *Women Remember: An Oral History* (London: Routledge, 1989); Muriel Spark *Curriculum Vitae: Autobiography* (London: Constable, 1992); Amy Stewart Fraser *The Hills of Home* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973/1985); idem *In Memory Long* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1977) and Millie Sutherland *The Brae House* (London: John Calder Riverun Press, 1979) & Molly Weir *Trilogy of Scottish Childhood* (London: Diamond Books, 1988/1994). Betsy Whyte [b 1919], a rare autobiographer from Scotland's community of travelling people, does mention playing hockey at secondary school (though I do not discuss her experiences in the main corpus of this work, see Bibliographical Supplement II below for some details) and the women of the Ferguslie Park Elderly Forum do recall the piquant touch [from c 1930s] of "drill in a hall which had a stone floor...in your bare feet" - The Ferguslie Elderly Forum *History on Your Doorstep: The Reminiscences of*

the Ferguslie Elderly Forum (Paisley: Workers' Educational Association/The Ferguslie Park Partnership, 1992) p 9 but this is little enough to go on. Even extending the search to male autobiographies and other mixed and female collections produces little more. See, Anna Blair *Tea at Miss Cranston's: A Century of Glasgow Memories* (London: Sheppard-Walwyn, 1985); idem *More Tea at Miss Cranston's* (London: Sheppard-Walwyn, 1991); Ronald Goldman [ed] *Breakthrough: Autobiographical Accounts of the Education of Some Socially Disadvantaged Children* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968); Lynn Jamieson & Clair Toynbee [eds] *Country Bairns: Growing Up, 1900-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992); Fiona MacDonald *Island Voices* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1992/1994) Trevor Royle [ed] *Jock Tamson's Bairs* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1977); John Taylor Caldwell *Severely Dealt With: Growing Up in Belfast and Glasgow* (Bradford: Northern Herald Books, 1993); Tollcross Local History Project *Waters Under the Bridge: Twentieth Century Tollcross, Fountainbridge and the West Port* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1990); Jack Caplan *Memories of the Gorbals* (Durham: Pentland Press, 1991); Archie Cameron *Bare Feet and Tackety Boots: A Boyhood on Rhum* (Barr: Luath Press, 1988/1990); Ralph Glasser *Growing up in the Gorbals* (Pan Books, 1986/1987); Albert Kane *But the Memory Lingers On* (Paisley: James Paton, nd c 1980s [?]); Edwin Muir *An Autobiography* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1954/1993) & David Thomson *Nairn in Darkness and Light* (London: Vintage, 1987/1991). George Rountree does mention young priests joining with boys in informal games of football in his school playground in Govan but this is not one and the same thing as formal school physical education - idem *A Govan Childhood: the 1930s* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1993) p 177. Fictional sources are equally silent. There is clearly nothing in *The 13th Disciple* nor anything in *The Scots Quair* op cit; and as to Miss Brodie, her opinion on the Girl Guides ("For those who like that sort of thing....that is the sort of thing they like" - Muriel Spark *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie* [Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1961/1990] p 31) is well known. This judgement may well have extended to other robust and outdoor activities such as sport. Absence of evidence is not evidence of absence but the lack of any significant body of voluntarily recollected material on school sport and physical education may suggest that, while sport was certainly a vitally important component of mass male culture, physical education had a relatively low status in most of Scotland's schools in the period between 1872 and 1945 and its provision was always haphazard and inconsistent

[129] See Gillian Avery *The Best Type of Girl: A History of Girls' Independent Schools* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1991) pp 266-276 & Kathleen E McCrone "Play Up! Play Up! And Play the Game! Sport at the Late Victorian Girls' Public School" *Journal of British Studies* vol XXII no 1 spring 1984 especially pp 121-122 on St Leonard's.

[130] Margaret K B Sommerville *The Merchant Maidens Hospital of the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Former Pupils Guild of the Mary Erskine School for Girls, 1970) Appendix I "Statutes of Government" p 121.

[131] Helen Corr "The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession: 1872-1945" in Humes and Paterson [eds] op cit p 149.

[132] Annmarie Turnball "Learning Her Womanly Work: the Elementary School Curriculum, 1870-1914" in Felicity Hunt [ed] *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Women and Girls, 1850-1950* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1987) pp 92 & 98-99.

[133] Ibid p 97; Helen Corr "'Home-Rule' in Scotland: The Teaching of Housework in Schools, 1872-1945" in Fiona Paterson and Judith Fewell [eds] *Girls in Their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990) p 45 & Ellen Jordan "'Making Good Wives and Mothers'? The Transformation of Middle-Class Girls' Education in Nineteenth-Century Britain" *History of Education Quarterly* vol 31 no 4 winter 1991 p 441.

[134] Turnball op cit p 92.

[135] *The Ministry of Labour Gazette* "Choice of Career Pamphlets" vol 38 March 1930 p 86.

[136] C E V Lesser "The Supply of Women for Gainful Work in Britain" *Population Studies* vol IX no 2 1955 p 142.

Depending as it does on Census returns, Lesser's work may underestimate the significance of informal paid work for women but the general point that there were not great new career opportunities opening up in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries stands.

[137] Turnball op cit p 99.

[138] I find few references to domestic subjects in much the same list of autobiographical texts as at note [128] above.

[139] Catherine Adams "Women in Teaching Between the Wars" *Scottish Educational Review* vol 21 no 2 1989 p 119.

[140] Corr op cit in Humes and Paterson [eds] op cit p 149.

[141] Adams op cit p 117.

[142] Ibid p 121.

[143] Darwin op cit p 98 & Clark op cit "The Primary Education...." pp 413-414.

[144] Though writing of popular magazines for girls (and those only between 1920 and 1950), Penny Tinkler makes a useful and interesting point which seems to admit of being generalised to girls' understanding of *all* written materials aimed at them - "girls were [not necessarily] manipulated or duped by their reading....many readers would have recognised the 'preferred meanings' embedded in [texts]...and would have learned the feminine lessons conveyed....[but] subsequently rejected them. To ignore this is to deny readers their cultural 'know

how'" - idem *Constructing Girlhood: Popular Magazines for Girls Growing up in England, 1920-1950* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1995) p 187.

[145] See the many instances of classroom pupil/teacher interactions from her own observations and those of others in a wide variety of school settings (many of which do seem to be a function of more mobile and talkative 'progressive' classrooms - a fact on which she comments herself) in Sara Delamont *Sex Roles and the School* (London: Methuen & Co, 1980) pp 24-41, especially p 36 on 'progressive' classroom environments as perhaps being particularly prone to this.

In a rather amusing incident she recounts the specific case of a teacher in the 1970s in a primary school playing the tune *Here Comes Peter Cottontail* on the piano and encouraging the boys in her class to hop noisily around the room to its accompaniment. Girls, by contrast, were to parade sedately to *In My Easter Bonnet* - ibid pp 29-30. It does seem somewhat hard to imagine the generally austere Scottish classroom environment between 1872 and 1945 being home to any such activities.

Having said much about curricula as they operated on/for girls in Scottish schools between 1872 and 1945 in the previous chapter I now combine autobiographical and 'objective' measures of school experience to examine the instruments considered necessary for the delivery of formal schooling - compulsion, discipline and examination. I take these to be the birth, marriage and death of school life. The child is born into the school, willing or not; he/she is bound to 'honour and obey' its code of conduct and leaves for some life thereafter with more or less to show for the time spent at school. In what follows I examine unique and special considerations attaching to girls' school attendance in Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; I examine the attitudes of Scottish girls towards discipline and punishment (especially corporal punishment) and the attitudes of their teachers towards punishing them and I examine their records of examination success and failure. As in the last chapter I concentrate primarily on the Protestant, urban mainstream experience at both elementary and higher levels, but I offer a wide range of statistical evidence on exam results from various categories of school.

In a crucial centenary retrospective of the 1872 Act, Alasdair Roberts remarks that much store has been set by the fact of Scotland's being able to compel full attendance of all children from five to thirteen with immediate effect ("while English school boards were allowed some years of 'permissive compulsion'"¹) in apparent recognition of circumstances in England which were less conducive to mass schooling than in Scotland. Roberts does however go on to point out that simply assuming there was uniform attendance because it was decreed that there should be is misleading². To think otherwise would be akin to taking literally the joke which has it of the tidy-minded Swiss and the disciplined Austrians that they have no crime because crime is illegal. In fact it was only in the early to mid 1930s that the SED ceased to wail annually about the poor state of school attendance figures. In its 1933-34 *Report* it made the grudging admission that:

Generally speaking, the attitude of the modern child and of the modern parent is such that almost the only common impediment to regular attendance is ill-health³.

Hitherto, the struggle had been hard and Roberts uses several military metaphors and references in his article, "Attendance - How the Battle Was Won", to suggest this. "School boards used an extensive armoury"; "the Scotch Education Department found itself involved in a long war of attrition"; "the assault was not pressed hard at first"; "frowning three-decker schools....[brought] into submission their surrounding catchment areas"; "the snatch-squads were....the attendance visitors"⁴. That the situation did improve over time may well have been, as he suggests, a result of the fact that "attendance had gradually become a habit"⁵ over several generations from the 1870s. I shall not encroach on the territory of the statisticians and demographers by considering numbers of children enrolled or attending schools in Scotland in the period 1872 to 1945. I note however that engendered analysis of attendance statistics may be all but impossible as the figures produced annually by the SED drew no distinction between girls and boys and raw school board statistics survive only in incomplete form. Such deficiencies of engendered sources have often led to the production of educational history afflicted by "gender-blindness"⁶ - specifically what we seek to avoid here.

School absences might occur, as they still do, through ill health⁷ (usually well heated and filled with children packed closely together, schools have always made perfect breeding grounds for epidemics); or, in those parts of the north of Scotland where the weather is prone to being epic rather than merely irritating as it so often is in the south, through adverse conditions⁸. No list of the causes of school absence would be complete without mentioning these⁹ but I shall concentrate here not on these facts of happenstance but on the deliberate staying away from school of girls themselves and on their being kept away by parents.

Autobiographers and willing volunteers of direct testimony of school experiences may not always be the most informative sources on school non-attendance. Working class autobiographers are likely to have been disproportionate *enthusiasts* for school¹⁰. But it is only at the lowest social margin that there seems to have been regular and frequent non-attendance. As Alasdair Roberts says, from the 1870s onwards: "There was no general working-class hostility to education....[except perhaps] in areas of unskilled labour"¹¹. Making an important general point as to the alienation from formal education which poverty can bring, David Vincent passes the depressing judgement that although:

*[by] 1913....Britain [had] achieved for the
first time in its history a nominally literate population
.....the more money the state distributed to the poor,
the more use the poor had to make of their schooling.*¹²

We may call this depressing in that he seems to imply that making more and ever more complicated applications for benefits is the only use the poor have ever had for their state funded education. In such circumstance, alienation is hardly to wondered at. Vincent's remarks here are such that they can be generalised to cover the whole period between the 1870s and the 1940s because, as he himself stresses there are often more continuities than discontinuities in the experience of poverty, defining the poor not simply as those who are always with us but as as those who are always "condemned to [political] passivity....[but who, perversely, must be] more active in the management of their daily lives than any other sector of society"¹³.

There is evidence of considerable regional variation with rural children in particular expected¹⁴ (and perhaps even willing¹⁵) to take seasonal work which would keep them from school. This seems certainly to have been at its height in the agricultural depressions of the late nineteenth century¹⁶ though, as we have seen these had less of an impact in Scotland than in England¹⁷ and their impact

on school attendance north of the border may thus have been correspondingly reduced. Where poverty was particularly associated with the Catholic community there were also poor attendance figures for much of the late nineteenth century¹⁸. But I concentrate here on the added dimension of gender related differences in patterns of school attendance.

A well established taxonomy¹⁹ distinguishes between: opportunistic, retreatist and subsistence truancy. That is: taking a day off, being a 'school refuser', or being obliged to miss school consistently for economic or family reasons. Simply taking time off school because the opportunity arises need not be such a serious matter educationally. In fact, it may even be indicative of a certain independence and adventurousness that a child does so. If it is genuinely limited, it may be a small matter. School refusal may arise from deep personal difficulty (such as bullying) or it may be a reaction to external 'political' circumstances. In its most extreme form school refusal issued forth in school strikes. Though to officialdom at the time, such strikes seemed no more than more than malicious evasion of work by badly behaved children they are recalled by participants as having a 'political' component, no matter that it may have been vague and naive²⁰. I shall discuss neither of these varieties of truancy in detail but turn instead to subsistence truancy and its particular implications and associations for girls.

It has been forcefully argued that throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in elementary schools at least "Girls' [subsistence related] absences were condoned more readily than boys' by all concerned"²¹. The earliest legislation introduced from the mid nineteenth century to limit child labour arose from compassionate and liberal moral motives on the part of many individual advocates, but fear of precocious sexuality and promiscuity in supposedly unsupervised working environments was a strong imperative²². In parallel (or even in the same Acts), women's exposure to the labour market was limited in a

"mixture of motives....[combining] the desire to make hard labor easier [for them]....and the wish to keep [them]....at home in their approved roles of wife, mother and homemaker"²³. Thus this protective legislation both gave and took. It gave freedom *from* certain sorts of work or work in certain conditions but equally, it took freedom *to* exercise a certain sort of individuality through working and earning. Legislation and legislators assumed that "Work by school children was unnecessary exploitation....[and] detriment[al]"²⁴. However, as with opportunist truancy, there may be a positive aspect to subsistence truancy. Oral historian and chronicler of popular experience Paul Thompson has argued that for as long as "parents made use of their children to subsidize the family income, in doing so they helped to free their children of their own influence....[so that] a remarkably independent children's culture flourished"²⁵. But Lyn Jamieson argues that the high(er) level of condoned female absence (which, taking her work in conjunction with that of Annmarie Turnbull, we can be reasonably sure continued from the 1870s to the 1930s) resulted less from the imperative to have girls take paid work than to have them help in domestic work or child care²⁶. Current scope does not extend to the full study of childhood outside the context of formal education but it bears saying that, if Thompson is correct and casual work at the cost of occasional withdrawal from school did buy boys a certain freedom, it seems unlikely that unpaid domestic work for girls could have done the same (a fact which he does acknowledge himself, though only in passing)²⁷. M MacD [b 1935] was doubly burdened in that she, "was expected [to]....obtain work and help at home too"²⁸ but by the 1930s such cases were rare and had become ever rarer since the late nineteenth century²⁹.

All of the foregoing applies primarily to elementary schooling. The family investment in education for working class children, male and female, beyond the legal minimum provided a strong imperative to ensure regular attendance there³⁰. Simple failure to attend would be looked on even less favourably than it might

have been at a lower level and impediments to full and regular attendance leading to the subsistence truancy of paid or domestic work (if they had not already been) were likely now to be removed. Grace Cavet [b 1911, Edinburgh] lived with several generations of her family in a house in Dunoon where they also accommodated lodgers. As a young child, work associated with the running of that house often kept her late from school and this continued even when she moved to Dunoon Grammar School but in this she seems not to have been typical³¹. Far more often, women from working class backgrounds who advanced to any degree of schooling beyond the legal minimum report that if their earlier studies were interrupted by domestic or other demands made on them, these interruptions stopped and in most cases they report that they never were subject to intrusive demands in the first place. This seems to have been so even in instances of women who did not complete their studies at secondary level and who might be assumed to have been under some pressure at/from home which left them unable to work to completion. M B [b 1922], a self professed daughter of "advanced thinking parents", would have completed a full secondary course had not her father died when she was fifteen. She reports no interruption to her school career before then³². Much the same was true for Queenie McDonald Bellamy [b 1925] whose schooling was not disturbed even by her father's year and a half of unemployment during the ship building downturn of 1931-1933. Only her own decision to leave school and care for her mother during a prolonged bout of illness prevented completion of her studies³³. Even Annie Hamilton [b 1921] who wanted nothing more ambitious than to be a cook suffered no domestic or employment related interruptions to her time at Uddingston Grammar School in Lanarkshire³⁴. Although she left school early to work, when this job proved a failure after only four months she was able to return to school and continue there. Thus it seems evident that poor attendance was not simply a function of sociological position of family but psychological disposition towards formal

schooling of parents, though non-attendance did affect girls and boys differently in key respects.

I turn now to the rather more vexed and emotionally charged matter of school discipline, punishment and punitive or disciplinary violence towards children. The moral conduct of children and the morality of adult conduct towards children in disciplining them are topics on which no one yet born has no opinion. In this section of this chapter I consider unique and distinctive aspects of the disciplining and punishment of girls in Scottish schools between 1872 and 1945 and unique and distinctive features of those girls' attitudes to the discipline and punishments to which they were subject.

Casting doubt on the proposition that children learn moral, academic and practical lessons best under the stimulus of violence or the threat of violence can be traced in the modern western world of 'Greater Europe'³⁵ to the thoughts of Jan Amos Komenský, known as Comenius, in the seventeenth century³⁶. Comenius cast doubt on both the effectiveness and the morality of violent punishments for children engaged in learning. When Jeremy Bentham and James Mill (the latter the son of a cobbler from rural Forfar and a definite lad o' pairs) embarked on what was to become the Utilitarian project of doubting and rejecting all received wisdom and practice which could not be shown to be conducive to their assumed ultimate moral end of human happiness they too subjected violent school disciplinary punishment to scrutiny³⁷. Comenius had doubted both the effectiveness and the morality of violent punishments for children engaged in learning, Bentham and those who followed him collapsed morality and usefulness (or utility) into one and preached much the same message as Comenius. Whether for Comenian reasons or through following this Utilitarian lead, there has been increased agitation from the early 1800s to the present to limit the exercise of violent punishments in enforcing discipline on children. Added to this has been an

overlay of psychoanalytical reasoning which, in some versions, emphasise a link between violence by adults and the violence directed towards them when they were children³⁸.

As Grant and Humes suggest³⁹ it is easy (perhaps too easy) to characterise Scottish schools pre-1872, as particularly violent in their punitive discipline. Yet it remains unclear that this is anything more than a product of prejudice and caricature on the part of some commentators⁴⁰. It is true that Scottish schools pre-1872 were not conspicuously influenced by the foreign Comenius, the atheistic Utilitarians or the yet un-dreamt of philosophy of the psychoanalysts, but there is some little evidence from the late 1860s which suggests that they were not especially violent. Almost on the eve of the introduction of the 1872 Act and in the period when Moncrieff's early efforts to produce a national education system were underway, two envoys from the court of Napoleon III in France noted that "La punition corporelle....n'est pas...en Écosse une affaire de routine"⁴¹. Whether or not they had the special insight of the outsider or saw only a restricted number of schools (they certainly saw only higher and not elementary schools) and/or a restricted range of activities in those schools, they were persuaded that violent, corporal, punishment was not routine in Scotland. Assuming for the purposes of argument that they were correct, how might this be accounted for? If there was a distinctively Scottish contribution to the challenge against methods of violent punishment in schools started by Comenius and continued by the Utilitarians in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, it seems likely to have come from David Stow.

As we have seen, Stow's was a religious rather than a secular Utilitarian project, but the coincidence between these approaches was in their both contributing to a general diminution in the use of violent punishment for breaches in the discipline imagined to be necessary for children's learning. More akin to Comenius, Stow

argued that violence was counter-productive in the context of schooling and used both his writings⁴² and his Normal school⁴³ (a school in which *norms* were exhibited from which other teachers could learn) to put forward his case. For Stow, violence could only stir up resentment which would hamper the long-term but subtle project of manipulating the child into coming to Christ. Judging how significant Stow's contribution might have been in this respect (let alone that of Comenius, the Utilitarians or, later, the psychoanalysts) lies beyond the present scope. Suffice it to say that Stow must be adjudged an important humanising influence on Scotland's schools pre and post 1872.

I turn now to examining how girls were disciplined and punished in schools in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 using the customary autobiographical and experiential sources. Specifically, I address the following questions: were girls in Scotland frequently punished (especially with violence) in elementary schools between 1872 and 1945? If so, were they punished more or less often than boys? Were these punishments continued for those who attended higher/secondary schools? Were they more or less frequent there than for boys? Were girls punished (at either level) more or less often than boys by female teachers (that is, were women harder on girls) and if so, why?

Pushing back to the 1870s using oral sources is of course now all but impossible and Scottish female working class autobiographers (and those of any other class for that matter) whose recollections extend that far are rare. However, it is possible to use Amy Stewart Fraser, whose book *The Hills of Home*⁴⁴ is an acknowledged Scottish autobiographical classic⁴⁵, as a starting point. She recalls "harsh treatment....[with] the tawse freely and unkindly [used]"⁴⁶ in her first school in rural Aberdeenshire in the 1890s. Fraser does however qualify her claims by suggesting that her teacher was subject to personal pressures which predisposed her to violence towards all her pupils (but especially the boys) in

actions recognisable as excessive at the time⁴⁷. If true this might make Fraser one of the "considerable"⁴⁸ number of late Victorian and Edwardian teachers estimated by Paul Thompson (whose 1970s oral survey *did* stretch back to those born in 1872) to have shown symptoms of mental instability leading to "a good quarter of Edwardian children....harbour[ing] resentments against their teachers for the rest of their lives"⁴⁹. Though having said this, it is important to remember that Thompson's own studies have been shown to reveal that another quarter of all Edwardian school children received (or remembered) no physical punishment⁵⁰.

Coming forward in time it is easier to be certain that girls were physically punished in Scotland's elementary schools with the distinctive Scottish strap, belt or tawse as in the cases of D C [b 1923, Clydebank]⁵¹; Agnes Tod [b 1925, West Weyms, Fife]⁵²; Elizabeth Adamson [b 1930, Hamilton]⁵³ and Edna Paul [b 1930, Broughty Ferry near Dundee]⁵⁴ in that later part of our period. For rather more 'internationalised' Catholics, these was more often the English cane⁵⁵. Otherwise, the same variety of physical punishments not involving instruments as listed by Thompson - "slap[ping], pull[ing] hair, throw[ing] books and slates"⁵⁶ - were all apparently applied without distinction of religion or of gender⁵⁷. There were however some teachers and some whole school staffs who restricted their violent punishments to boys but these seem to have been in the minority until the 1920s and 1930s⁵⁸. Why did these decades mark a turning point in this respect?

Hegel famously remarked that the owl of Minerva (meaning wisdom) flies by night (when it is too late to make any difference). It might equally be observed that the sharp taloned hawk of reaction flies late in the day also. That is - reactions to social change almost always come too late to prevent the phenomena to which they are reactions. The surest sign of imminent success for a social

movement is often that it enters its most bitter phase of conflict. Bitter conflicts are very often conflicts in their terminal stages.

In the 1920s and 1930s, European women who wanted wider roles came under attack not only from the most regressive elements of their culture, but also from some of the most progressive and potentially liberating cultural movements...[especially] psychology and the new psychoanalytical movement..... The "new" values and behaviour [these movements] prescribed for women were often indistinguishable from traditional, limited conceptions of women's nature and function....[but now] with the authority of the youngest of the sciences.⁵⁹

The backlash of the 1920s and 1930s against socially mobile and increasingly personally determined women was only superficially interrupted by the onset of the Second World War and in fact continued well into the 1950s before revealing itself to be symptomatic of reactionary weakness rather than strength. A specifically educational literature did emerge from the late 1920s (of which I show more examples below) which stressed 'good' reasons for treating girls markedly differently to boys and while arguing for differences in male and female education was not new, as Anderson and Zinsser suggest above, the shift from grounding these considerations in the 'moral' to the 'scientific' did mark a new departure.

Thus a detailed psychological study published in the *British Journal of Educational Psychology* [BJES] in 1939⁶⁰ argued at length that physical punishment in schools was especially ill suited to girls for a reason designed to sound scientific but which in fact uses curiously moral, even religious language, - "[they] have a far greater *reverence* for their bodies than have boys"⁶¹ [my emphasis]. A single ill judged word is hardly sufficient basis on which to build a case but in the context of the whole BJES study (which included all categories of school then operated through state finance in England⁶²) there is a conspicuous

conservative agenda. Thus, suggestions for new policy and practice contained in the paper include "[dis]continuing the co-educational system beyond the age of 11+"⁶³. By far the most sweeping recommendation contained in the paper this comes apparently on the grounds that "pubertal changes....may incline....boy[s] towards a masterful rather than a protective attitude to women" making them less likely to accept female chastisement and that there might be "humiliation or embarrassment [amongst girls of sixteen and over] when punished by men"⁶⁴ for reasons seemingly bound up with the erotic charge such a situation might take on. Boys thus have reasons related to their persons or beings for disliking being punished by women; girls have reasons related to their bodies for disliking being punished by men. The masterful nature of masculinity is emphasised as is the sexual nature of femininity. There is no case made to the effect that physical punishment in itself is wrong only that it is wrong when applied by women to boys and men to girls. All of which ties in neatly with the reasoning of the National Association of Schoolmasters [NAS]. The NAS was then campaigning for an end to coeducation (in England at least) beyond the early years for reasons never very well articulated but which derive largely from a conservative impulse occasionally dressed in the guise of psychology as 'best for all concerned'⁶⁵. Although the psychologists' reasons for wanting such a 'reform' as an end to most coeducation are worked out in greater detail than those of the NAS, they do not seem any the less polemical.

The *BJES* study set itself to research conditions and give advice on policy for the education of children right across the age range and its conclusions were intended to have implications at both elementary and higher levels but I return now to the question of physical punishment for girls in Scotland's higher level schools. Where formal education beyond the original legal minimum was conducted in the elementary school under the various guises of "special subjects", "supplementary courses" or the work of Advanced Departments or Divisions until the mid 1930s

it seems likely that punitive practices remained the same for older as for younger children. D C did not change schools at the age of twelve she simply moved from one part of her school in Clydebank to another and the discipline and punishment regimes in each were no different⁶⁶. From 1936 there were Junior Secondaries which unified all the higher work undertaken previously under so many different arrangements⁶⁷ but these Junior Secondaries were a continuation of rather than a breach with previous practices⁶⁸. When J MacB [b 1924] attended one of the first of these nominally new schools she seems to have found a punitive regime not substantially different to that which an elementary/primary school might have had any time from 1872⁶⁹.

As with the possibility of wilful non-attendance, the smaller numbers attending fully fledged higher or secondary schools before 1945 and the assumption of their strong commitment to their studies may always have made recourse to physical punishment far less common. Some women mention explicit policies against physical punishment (of girls at least) in their higher schools⁷⁰ though where such policies operated there could apparently be lapses. As Margaret Duncan recalls of the independent, coeducational Dundee High School between 1915 and 1920.

*Girls were not supposed to get corporal punishment.
Once a girl in my maths class was given one stroke.
I was scared! I saw no boy being beaten.*⁷¹

Others make no mention of any particular policy precluding the use of physical punishment but report no personal experience of it or knowledge of others being physically chastised⁷². It is however clear it could be practised at Senior Secondaries, as at Govan High where M MacD recalls "the strap and a fear of all teachers [whose] kindness[es] to students....[were] few and far between"⁷³ and there was physical punishment for girls and boys alike in comparable, if sometimes less openly so⁷⁴.

I turn next to the issue of male/female interactions in the use of female punishment at all school levels in the period. Specifically, I ask: who was most likely to punish whom at each successive level? For as long as it was considered inappropriate for men to be subordinate to women it was virtually unknown for men to be anything other than the heads of elementary schools or their specialist teachers of older pupils⁷⁵. The typical pattern was thus much like that of James Leslie Mitchell/Lewis Grassie Gibbon's fictional Leekan school which "had three teachers - a man and two women....the man [being] the Dominie"⁷⁶. Dominies or headmasters might be specially called upon to administer physical punishment (as was "Mr Leckie Reid....a terrifying looking man" at a primary school in Dundee in the 1930s on one especially memorable occasion when "A few hundred kids [were] lined [up]....and....systematically belted by Mr Leckie Reid and henchman for coming...to the school too early"⁷⁷). But day to day chastisement generally belonged to female classroom teachers. Might these female teachers generally have refrained from punishing girls as some act of solidarity or sympathy or might they have refrained from punishing boys from some sense that this was inappropriate and/or for fear that boys might not accept their punishments?

Once again it becomes difficult to push back to the earliest part of the period 1872 to 1945 using autobiographical and oral sources. Taking her starting point in 1900 but making observations which seem relevant to the quarter century prior to that date because the situation she describes can only have improved over time (despite the backlash of the 1920s and '30s) Penny Summerfield⁷⁸ finds no evidence of any general reluctance to punish either boys or girls on the part of female teachers in England. She goes further and suggests that:

women teachers were as prone as men to administering....[physical] punishments. In fact some were particularly feared.....Nuns were

*no exception...Such images do not conform to the stereotype of women teachers as gentle, caring and maternal, qualities which the authorities used to justify their concentration in the younger classes of the elementary school.....Respect might be more readily commanded by a man. A woman teacher, therefore, could have reason to seem even more savage.*⁸⁰

However if, as Summerfield suggests, there was a battle for respect from pupils on the part of female teachers in elementary schools which made them especially prone to recourse to the lash of cane or tawse then this personal insecurity seems likely to have reduced over time as the working woman became ever more a fixed feature of life. But this reduction can only have been a matter of degree as the paid professional woman worker was still never a very surely fixed feature of social/economic life in Britain even at the end of our period.

It is at the level of more advanced work for older children that a more complicated range of possibilities occurs. Some, all or no male teachers may have refrained wholly or in part from punishing girls by physical means; alternatively there may have been those who especially 'picked on' girls. Female teachers may equally have been more or less likely to act physically against girls. I turn now to laying out these various possibilities in more detail and examining instances of and reasons for the operation of each possibility in practice. Before the 1880s or '90s (with the limited exception of nuns taught internally by their orders as we saw previously) there could be no female teachers at any higher level as the necessary prerequisite of university matriculation and graduation⁸⁰ was closed to them. The sharp increase in the numbers of female teachers in Scotland between the middle and the end of the nineteenth century, making women a majority in the profession overall by the century's close⁸⁰, was a function of their entry into elementary schools where they had seemingly not been present at all before 1800⁸¹. Thus here too I concentrate my remarks in the post 1900 section of the period.

Amongst women educated in Scotland pre-1945, across a range of schools and over time opinions as to differences between male and female disciplinary attitudes and punitive practices vary as widely as can be imagined. Men are variously described as: having been "generally more patient and tolerant with girls"⁸²; less "approachable" because they "stood on their dignity"⁸³; "very tough"⁸⁴; "more positive"⁸⁵ and "either too soft or bullies"⁸⁶. With girls, female teachers could be "more strict"⁸⁷; "stricter...[but] more dedicated"⁸⁸; "more serious"⁸⁹ or "more volatile"⁹⁰. The inconsistencies and contradictions are evident. Several women surveyed were insistent that there were no general differences⁹¹. Can any unified pattern be discerned?

The current sample is probably not large enough to allow any firm conclusions in this respect, the number of possible variables (age of teachers, nature of school, teachers' subject[s], pupils' ages.....etc....) is vast and the interaction of (teachers') 'actual' behaviour and (erstwhile pupils') perception is a matter of no small importance. It could never be clear by any 'objective' measure how volatile was volatile or how strict was strict. If there is a pattern it may be that men could afford to be whatever they chose to be or were by nature ("either too soft or bullies"). If this meant that they were "patient and tolerant", then patient and tolerant they were. Being "more positive [and] self assured"⁹² could perhaps more easily be a male prerogative than a female leaving men "easier to get on with"⁹³ if they were people who might be easy to get on with in the first place or able to stand on their dignity if they were thus inclined. The always greater degree of difficulty involved in a woman's first obtaining a degree, then finding a teaching post at a higher school, then keeping that post, much less being promoted as far or as fast as a man and the virtual *impossibility* of continuing to teach after marriage must all have subjected female teachers to considerable pressure. A certain heightened volatility resulting in some incidents of "[throwing] things at pupils"⁹⁴ is hardly to be wondered at.

This is however speculative. What can be said with some greater degree of certainty is that the only concrete record of female scholastic achievement in the period 1872 to 1945 lies in the results of SED examinations and this record has not hitherto been critically examined. It is to this third and final task that I now turn.

I take a lead here from two recently published works in particular and I take some inspiration from a great deal of currently emerging research evidence and debate. This current debate⁹⁵ concerns the possibility, now taken increasingly seriously, that female educational success outstrips male by a wide margin. Significant for present purposes is the implicit assumption in such research and debate that it was not ever thus. But as Colin McGeorge, from whom I draw much of my method, has argued in the context of late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand, much of what is believed about the history of girls' scholastic achievement is little more than "folklore"⁹⁶. I thus take from McGeorge and a recent Irish study the idea that trying, succeeding or failing to obtain an exam award in some subject is a useful "index of participation"⁹⁷ for girls in education. Dissecting examination results is a limited measure of general female success and there is an important sense in which educational success is bound up with personal development through integrating learned material with oneself. However, the fact remains that, in the period 1872 to 1945, examination success was the only generally accepted measure of achievement and even when it relates to only a handful of girls it does provide the best (perhaps the only) way to test the Argyll Commission's original suggestion that, in the right circumstances and given the right opportunities, girls could be very successful at formal learning⁹⁸.

As before, there are problems inherent in the nature of the sources which limit the scope of this section of the work to the twentieth century and there are further

difficulties which limit its scope *within* the century. There are of course no SED examination results to examine before 1888 as there were no SED examinations. Full records and 'raw' details of results prior to 1908 have not been preserved (only statistical summaries with no indication of candidates' identities and genders or available from before then). The results from the mid 1920s on remain subject to seventy-five year closures enforced by the Scottish Record Office on behalf of the Scottish Office Education and Industry Department. Allowing for the disruptive effects of the First World War and concentrating on keeping what is a considerable task manageable, I examine below the figures for female examination success in Scotland in 1908, 1911 and 1914. First however I pause to give consideration to the psychology of examinations and their place in girls' lives in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scotland. (Though I return to developing a psychology of girls' schooling in the seventh chapter.)

For as long as fees were charged by the schools for older and/or more advanced pupils, dependence on bursary awards to cover those costs for low and middle income families was high⁹⁹. No doubt competing for a bursary could be taxing and stressful. Even then, by no manner of means was it assured that every father would allow a child, especially a daughter, who had been successful in a bursary exam to take up the option of a school place. Lost opportunity cost from a teenage son or daughter's income, coupled with school costs not met by the bursary might be a disincentive and (particularly in the case of girls) parental ill will might come into play as we saw previously¹⁰⁰. Equally, a father might have reasons all of his own for pushing a girl to sit and pass a bursary exam (either to allow her to enter a higher school or, from the 1890s on, to pass from there to university matriculation).

In A J Cronin's novel *Hatter's Castle*, a girl is driven beyond all endurance by the insistence of her emblematic petit bourgeois late nineteenth century paterfamilias

(the hatter of the title) that she win the "Latta Bursary". This perhaps named after Robert Latta, sometime professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. This she is required to do in the face of stiff competition from the son of her father's principal business and social rival, the faintly villainous and Dickensian sounding Grierson. When she fails to do as she has been told, her father reveals himself as something of a *mad* hatter and announces, in less than sympathetic tones, "'Your best...wasna good enough to beat Grierson.....I'll throttle ye for what you've done to me'"¹⁰¹. Taking her lead from this, the much maligned girl leaves the room and, in a scene more than faintly Dickensian in being reminiscent of the risible death of Little Nell in its high camp bathos, she puts "her neck delicately into....[a] noose....taking heed not to disarrange her hat"¹⁰² (mindful even of her suicide's likely effects on her father's business it seems) and straightaway hangs herself.

What Cronin does not tell us is that if a father was especially determined that a daughter should make her way in the world through success in education and examinations then he had to overcome a particular prejudice against female study for exams bound up with pseudo-scientific ideas as to the significance and nature of menarche and menstruation. From the mid 1800s, medical thinking stressed the need for females to avoid intellectual work especially during periods¹⁰³ when their blood pressure would (it was supposed) already be abnormally low and their concentration at its weakest. Studying at a time when one ought to be conserving one's energy, the better to deal with the debilitation of menstruation, was not considered wise. Close and prolonged study, such as preparing for an examination would demand, was thus ill advised for women in general and for girls just entering into womanhood in particular. This latter group would be facing the challenges of menstruation for the first time and were thus likely to be least well prepared to face them in mind or in body. This of course happens to coincide with the age range (twelve to sixteen) at which the sitting of formal exams, first for

bursaries to higher schools and then to qualify for admission to university, traditionally took place.

Unlike the specifically north American idea that excessive 'brain work' for boys or girls might lead to mental illness¹⁰⁴, the imagined correlation between menstruation and academic or intellectual work was widespread in Greater Europe including New Zealand¹⁰⁵ and England¹⁰⁶ from the mid nineteenth century; there is no reason to imagine that Scotland was exempt from its influence. For reasons discussed above, such thinking only grew in prevalence and significance as the nineteenth century became the twentieth and it reached a peak in the 1920s and 1930s. Psychological research/political polemic from the late nineteenth century had emphasised the possibility of blood pressure changes having some impact on mental operations irrespective of sex¹⁰⁷ but the supposed excessive loss of blood in menstruation increasingly came to be imagined as a particular difficulty for girls¹⁰⁸. Some more considered psychological literature of the 1930s¹⁰⁹ did stress this as unlikely (in fact it is rare for menstruation to cause such problems as low blood pressure and anaemia as the blood lost has been 'budgeted for'). This same literature cast doubt on any genetically predetermined differences between males and females which would affect intellectual performance in this way. But such truly scientific thought, research and writing was in the minority and the quite voice of its reasoning was overborne by the loud cries of the pseudo-science which contributed to making female academic success particularly difficult. Is it possible to find a positive story in the Scottish examination results?

I turn now to using selected statistics from exemplar schools in Scotland in 1908, 1911 and 1914. I examine here five schools representing a wide variety of experiences. They are: Campbeltown Grammar which served a large rural hinterland and stands here for rural schools in general (though, as we have seen

rural areas were subject to regional variation); The High School of Dundee [DHS], an ancient endowed school operating as separate from but closely aligned with the national system from 1872 and divided into parallel male and female schools but mixing the two for some purposes and sharing some facilities¹¹⁰; Elmwood, a prestigious and secluded all girl Catholic boarding school run by female religious; Morrisons' Girls Academy, not quite an Anglicised girls' public school on the St Leonard's or St George's model, but a boarding school for girls (with a separate boys' establishment) less closely aligned with the national system than DHS and Uddingston Grammar, built by a local school board and typical of the type of urban, locally run and financed higher school which dominated the urban experience of schooling beyond the legal minimum throughout Scotland from 1872. Comparing these schools in these years it is possible to have some idea which subjects were studied by girls to Lower and Higher level by consulting the H2 ledgers of the SED in which raw examination results were recorded¹¹¹. (I capitalise the names of subjects, such as English and Drawing, in the section which follows in compliance with the SED's own usage on the H2 forms and so as better to distinguish between nouns/subject names, eg Drawing, and verbs such as drawing.)

The first striking fact to emerge from these records is that the low esteem subjects of Drawing and Science accounted for the largest number of awards to girls in the five schools in 1911 and 1914. Neither subject was examined by the SED as early as 1908. As we have seen, in chapter five, it would be some time in the future before Science exams would even be directly administered by the SED itself. In three specimen years, in five schools, only once (in Dundee in 1911) was Lower Drawing not either the most common or second most common subject for girls to sit and in Dundee in 1911 it came only a very narrow third (27 awards) to Lower French (28). The marginally more prestigious Higher Drawing was a rare award for girls so that the considerable time evidently spent on preparing large numbers

of girls to learn to draw was not even generally translated into any sort of academic excellence in the field. In total, in all the schools there were eighty-eight Lowers awarded in Drawing in 1911 as against seventy-eight of the surely more useful Lower English. In 1914 Drawing accounted for sixty-six Lowers, English for forty fewer awards. Only in Dundee, in any of the three years 1908, 1911 and 1914, were girls ever presented for Highers in either Science or Drawing (though few boys were ever presented in these subjects at Higher level either). Immediately, this concentration on these low prestige activities, one of which (drawing) has a distinct ring of the traditional female 'virtues' or 'accomplishments'¹¹² about it, emphasises disparity related to gender. However, the story is far from being universally negative.

At one time or another, girls proved themselves capable of Highers in almost every subject; the only exceptions to this being two of the three notoriously demanding Additional Maths papers: Geometric Conics and Higher Dynamics. However, Uddingston did have a good record in the third Additional Maths paper, Analytical Geometry with three awards in 1908 and one more in 1911 suggesting a speciality in this area and perhaps a good deal of extra coaching by staff. Dundee too may have had a speciality, chalking up a Higher Music in 1914 (a subject in which few candidates, either male or female were ever presented) but Uddingston's achievement is the more impressive (though Dundee's the more novel) as the Additional Maths papers were very highly esteemed. As suggested in chapter five, for as long as Advanced Mathematics (and the Classics) were considered the ideal preparatory subjects for *all* future intellectual endeavour¹¹³, university matriculation was always going to be a limited option for girls - only one girl in five schools in three years took a Higher in Greek - in Dundee in 1914).

Overall, Uddingston had consistently the best record of the four smaller schools, dwarfed only by the overweening size and resultant annually abundant crop of awards at DHS. In Dundee there was always an exam class of at least one hundred and thirty pupils of whom between a half and a third would be girls. However, Uddingston's results are the more interesting because they do suggest a high quality of education associated with a school having no great social prestige. They certainly outstrip those of Elmwood and Morrisons'.

At Elmwood in 1908 sixteen candidates were presented for a total of forty-one awards but brought home passes in only slightly more than half of these (24). In 1911 its twenty-seven girls in the exam class scooped an undistinguished fifty-four awards from one hundred attempts. In 1914 a reduced force of only thirteen girls contrived to crown the teaching of the Franciscan sisters with forty-four awards from sixty-four presentations. However, in every year (and this is true in years other than 1908, 1911 and 1914) the usual number of subjects in which an Elmwood girl could expect to be presented was five. In other words, the nuns, year in and year out, appear to have treated their girls like skittles - setting them up to be knocked down. Elmwood girls almost always failed every subject in which they were presented but this does not seem to have deterred the nuns from continuing to present them. In so far as Elmwood had any academic success this was concentrated in English (which most girls passed, if only at Lower), French (as might be excepted from an 'internationalised' order of religious) and Drawing. The conspicuous failure which set the tone at Elmwood as against Uddingston's quiet success is all the more revealing when one realises that Elmwood is in Uddingston's near neighbouring town of Bothwell and thus (although a boarding school with no fixed catchment area) probably drew many of its pupils from much the same area.

Morrisons' too made a less than impressive showing in the years in question. It presented most candidates for four awards in 1908 and 1911 and for five in 1914 but in each case it lags behind Uddingston in its ratio of awards to presentations (and it would usually be behind Campbeltown in this as well). In common with Elmwood, Morrisons' excelled in English, French and Drawing. However, it also had some strength in Maths, getting six or seven Lowers each year (1908=6; 1911=7; 1914=7) but only one Higher Maths in all three specimen years (1914) and not a whiff of Uddingston's success in Analytical Geometry.

Thus, despite the overall imbalance in favour of Lower Science and Drawing, it was Uddingston (and Campbeltown) which showed the best results most often. Uddingston could always be counted on to bring in the highest ratio of successes to attempts. In 1908 its girls were rewarded in three out of every five subjects they sat; three out of four in 1911 and four out of five in 1914. In this respect, Campbeltown was normally its close second. Both always produced Highers in at least four subjects and in 1911 and 1914, Uddingston could boast Highers for its girls in five subject areas. True, Dundee never had Highers in fewer than five areas and in 1914 it had as many as nine (English; Maths; Latin; Greek; French; German; History; Science and Drawing) but its large size compared to Uddingston or Campbeltown must be taken into account. Elmwood's small size too may be taken into account, as must the physical poverty of Catholic schooling pre-1918 discussed above, but these considerations alone do not seem sufficient to explain such a record of failure. Whatever their merits so far as the Catholic hierarchy and community were concerned it seems unlikely that convent schools were the best academic environment for girls. In fact, the simple truth is that girls could be very academically successful in the mainstream state schools in Uddingston in industrial Lanarkshire or Campbeltown in rural Argyllshire. Equally importantly, in both those schools, girls were usually over represented amongst exam candidates by comparison to boys by a ratio of around 2:1. Lyn Jamieson

has explained this by arguing that "girls who did well at school would have been more likely to respond to encouragement to stay on [past the legal minimum age] than boys (that is in the unlikely even of parental support for the idea) - the pull of the status of earner being stronger for [boys]"¹¹⁴. This is indeed borne out by oral and written autobiographical evidence. (I turn in the next chapter to a more detailed 'psychology of education' dealing with this issue and other related themes.)

Thus it is possible to offer a tentative conclusion to this chapter by summarising certain salient aspects of the Scottish female 'mainstream' (ie urban, state financed and Protestant) school experience at both elementary and higher level between 1872 and 1945. Girls in mainstream schools lacked the supposed benefits of the uniquely nurturing rural school environment but, as we have seen, that environment could be problematic. They lacked the social distinction of attending self-governing schools but, as we have seen, where those schools were least similar to the Scottish mainstream they too could be a problematic environment (subject to violent social divisions and bullying for example). Further, girls not attending such prestigious schools could still give a good account of themselves academically, despite their 'disadvantage'. Age, social origins or class and regional location seem to have been a greater determinant of poor attendance than gender and in so far as recollections of punishment are concerned, greater variation seems to be accounted for by age and type of school than gender of pupil. Curriculum (both mainstream and otherwise) was riddled with gendered material designed to fix and perpetuate particular roles, practices and beliefs. Immersed in this gendered curriculum, girls attending Scottish schools in the period 1872 to 1945 were surrounded by a culture in which teachers, administrators and others did not "stand back from....totally accepting the ideology and institutions that prevail[ed]....[far less] affiliate with cultural, political, and economic

groups....[such as feminists] self-consciously working to alter the institutional arrangements that set limits on the lives and hopes of so many"¹¹⁵.

NOTES

[1] Alasdair Roberts "Attendance - How the Battle was Won" *Education in the North* vol 9 1972 p 10.

[2] Ibid p 11.

[3] *SED Report 1933-1934* [cmdnd 4601] p 6.

[4] Roberts op cit p 12.

[5] Ibid p 13.

[6] Jane McDermid "Placing Women in Scottish History" [book review] *Journal of Women's History* fall 1992 p 182.

[7] One HMI contributing to the *SED Report* for 1919, the year of the worldwide influenza pandemic, records that so much time had been lost to ill health that it was not even possible to give "complete and accurate percentages" but guessed that they were "worse [even] than in 1918"; thus, if war had been a cause of considerable disruption, another apocalyptic horseman had caused more - *SED Report 1919-1920* [cmdnd 782] p 46.

[8] Roberts op cit p 12.

[9] The list drawn up by James M Roxburgh in *The School Board of Glasgow: 1873-1918* (London: Scottish Council for Research in Education, 1971) is deficient in these rather obvious respects. The causes for absence which he does list ("[which] will surprise no one....[being] the same today") are "want of parental control, fecklessness on the part of parents, girls kept at home to 'mind the baby', boys sent messages" - ibid p 179.

[10] Mary Jo Maynes "Autobiography and Class Formation in Nineteenth Century Europe: Methodological Considerations" *Social Science History* vol 16 no 3 fall 1992 p 520.

[11] Roberts op cit pp 12-13 & E Llewelyn Lewis *The Children of the Unskilled: An Economic and Social Study* (London: P S King & Son, 1924) pp 65-66.

[12] David Vincent *Poor Citizens: The State and Poverty in the Twentieth Century* (London: Longmans, 1991) p 74.

[13] Ibid p 208.

[14] Roberts op cit p 12.

[15] Chris Guthrie's mother reminds her "*there are better things than your books or studies or loving or bedding, there's the countryside your own, you its, in the days when you're neither bairn nor woman*" [italics indicate direct speech in the

original] - Lewis Grassie Gibbon *A Scots Quair* (London: Pan Books, first published as a collection 1946/1982) p 27.

[16] Bernard Elliot "Education and the Decline in Agriculture in the Late Nineteenth Century" *The Local Historian* vol 15 no 8 November 1983 p 474.

[17] Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt *A Companion to Scottish History* (London: B T Batsford, 1989) pp 13-14.

[18] J H Treble "The Development of Roman Catholic Education in Scotland: 1878-1978" in David McRoberts [ed] *Modern Scottish Catholicism: 1878-1978* (Glasgow: The Scottish Catholic Historical Association/*The Innes Review*/Burns & Sons, 1979) pp 120-122 & Martha Skinnider "Catholic Elementary Education in Glasgow: 1818-1918" in T R Bone [ed] *Studies in the History of Scottish Education: 1872-1939* (London: Scottish Council for Research in Education/University of London Press, 1967).

[19] It is employed, for example, in Stephen Humphries *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) pp 63-66 & Lyn Jamieson "We All Left at 14: Boys' and Girls' Schooling, circa 1900-1930" in Fiona M S Paterson and Judith Fewell [eds] *Girls in Their Prime: Scottish Education Revisited* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1990) pp 26-29.

[20] In a curious twist of irony, Wilf Page [b 1914] recalls a school strike in which he participated at Horsham St Faith's in Norfolk in 1923. It was limited to boys ("we thought it wasn't a girl's place to go on strike") but occurred as a result of the forced resignation of a well-liked female teacher hit by the ban on married women in the teaching profession - Wilf Page "The Days When Men Were Men" *Times Educational Supplement [TES 2]* 1st March 1996 (from an interview conducted by Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon).

[21] Annmarie Turnbull "Learning her Womanly Work: the Elementary School Curriculum, 1870-1914" in Felicity Hunt [ed] *Lessons for Life: The Schooling of Girls and Women, 1850-1950* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987) p 84.

[22] T C Smout *A History of the Scottish People: 1560-1830* (Glasgow: Wm Collins, 1969) pp 388-389.

[23] Bonnie S Anderson and Judith P Zinsser *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* vol II (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988) p 288.

[24] Jamieson op cit p 28.

[25] Paul Thompson *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (St Albans: Paladin, 1975/1977) pp 59-60.

[26] Jamieson op cit pp 28-29 & Turnbull op cit in Hunt [ed] op cit pp 84-85.

[27] Thompson op cit *The Edwardians* p 75 & Jamieson op cit p 29.

[28] M MacD # 16.

[29] Jamieson op cit pp 28-29.

[30] See, for example Jennie Lee *To-Morrow is a New Day* (London: The Cresset Press, 1939) pp 55-56 & the story of Jane Mitchell [b 1934, Glasgow] in Ronald Goldman [ed] *Breakthrough: Autobiographical Accounts of the Education of Some Socially Disadvantaged Children* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968) p 128.

[31] Grace Cavet # 8.

[32] M B # 3.

[33] Queenie McDonald Bellamy # 4.

[34] Annie Hamilton # 12.

[35] By this term I mean Europe itself and all the European settled parts of the world - principally north and south America and Australasia.

[36] James Bowen *A History of Western Education* vol III (London: Methuen & Co, 1981) pp 83-95.

[37] Ibid pp 287-288.

[38] Alice Miller *For Your Own Good: The Roots of Violence in Child-rearing* Hildegarde and Hunter Hannum [transl] (London: Virago, 1988/1994) p 58.

[39] Nigel Grant and Walter Humes "Scottish Education: 1700-2000" in Paul H Scott [ed] *Scotland: A Concise Cultural History* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1993) pp 360-361.

This is hardly to say that there is no history of violent punishments in Scottish schools (which would be a ridiculous claim to make) only that it is unclear why Scotland is so often depicted as especially violent in this respect, in what is perhaps a species of the genus of rhetoric which casts *all* Scottish history as especially violent. Contrast Grant and Humes with Pickard and Cowper in a comparable volume; the latter pair do employ the rhetoric of Scotland as a land of violence generally and violent schools particularly - see W Pickard and H Cowper "Education" in David Daiches [ed] *The New Companion to Scottish Culture* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1993) pp 87 & 88.

[40] No less a person than the current Historiographer Royal for Scotland, professor Smout, has famously described Scottish education as uniquely prone to "smashing facts" into children.

[41] J Demogeot and H Montucci *De L'Eseignement Secondaire en Angleterre et en Écosse* (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1868) p 499.

[42] See, David Stow *Infant Training: A Dialogue Explanatory of the System Adopted in the Model Infant School, Glasgow* (Glasgow: Wm Collins, 1833) & idem *Supplement to Moral Training and the Training System* (Glasgow: W R McPhun, 1893 [facsimile edition E J Morten: Manchester, 1971]) - though published anonymously under the pseudonym 'A Director of the Model Infant School', *Infant Training* is by Stow.

[43] Henry P Wood *David Stow and the Glasgow Normal School* (Glasgow: Jordanhill College of Education, 1987).

[44] Amy Stewart Fraser *The Hills of Home* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973/1985).

[45] A lengthy extract is included in T C Smout and Sydney Wood [eds] *Scottish Voices: 1745-1960* (London: Wm Collins, 1990) a collection of influential and important Scottish autobiographical writings.

[46] Fraser op cit pp 102-103.

[47] Ibid p 118.

[48] Fraser op cit pp 102-103.

[49] Thompson op cit *The Edwardians* p 73.

[50] Jonathan Rose "Willingly to School: The Working-Class Response to Elementary Education in Britain, 1875-1918" *Journal of British Studies* vol 32 no 1 April 1993 p 130.

Rose also increases Thompson's guestimated figure of a "good quarter" to a rather more precise 30.8% of working class children and a figure even higher than this for sons and daughters of more affluent families but when commenting on the idea that *all* Edwardian teachers were strict disciplinarians prone to irrational violence., Rose quips "What, all of them?"- ibid pp 131 & 130.

[51] Thompson op cit *The Edwardians* p 74.

[52] D C # 7.

[53] Agnes Tod # 26.

[54] Elizabeth Adamson # 1.

[55] Edna Paul # 19 [b].

For other stories of violent punishment directed towards girls in their early schooling see Anna Blair [ed] *More Tea at Miss Cranston's: Further Reflections on Glasgow* (London: Shepeard-Walwyn, 1991) pp 15, interview with anonymous woman [b c 1910s] & 16 interview with Isobel Horn [b c 1920s].

[56] H M # 4 [rc] [b 1908]; Margaret Stewart # 10 [rc] [b c 1910] & Mary M Galloway # 2 [rc] [b 1915].

[57] Anne L O'Sullivan # 8 [rc] [b 1927].

[58] Thompson op cit *The Edwardians* p 73.

[59] Margaret Duncan # 10 [b 1905, Dundee]; Beatrice M M Urquhart # 27; J MacB # 15 [b 1924, Glasgow] & Jamieson op cit pp 20-21.

[60] Bonnie S Anderson and Judith P Zinsser *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present* vol II (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1988) pp 216-217.

[61] Kenneth D Hopkins "Punishment in Schools" *Journal of Educational Psychology* vol IX no 1 1939.

[62] Ibid p 17.

[63] Several single sex and mixed secondary schools; senior and junior elementary schools and a junior technical college were surveyed - ibid p 9.

[64] Ibid p 23.

[65] Ibid p 23.

[66] Alison Oram "Inequalities in the Teaching Profession: The Effect on Teachers and Pupils, 1910-1939" in Hunt [ed] op cit pp 105-110, especially p 109 on the NAS's use of psychology in its campaign.

[67] D C op cit.

[68] Hamish M Paterson "Incubus and Ideology: The Development of Secondary Schooling in Scotland, 1900-1939" in idem et Walter M Humes [eds] *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education: 1800-1980* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1983) pp 211-212.

[69] J MacB # 15.

[70] Stewart op cit; Galloway op cit & Duncan op cit.

[71] Duncan op cit.

[72] E R op cit; H M op cit; H M C op cit; Hamilton op cit; O'Sullivan op cit; Paul op cit & Urquhart op cit.

[73] M MacD op cit.

[74] "The Headmistress [at St Margaret's Senior Secondary, Paisley], a nun, was known to use her hands on pupils" - Maureen M Donegan [b 1927] # 1 [rc].

Margaret Grubb recalls a particularly unpleasant incident from a Dundee Senior Secondary school in the 1940s: "our English Teacher [sic]....used to call a certain pupil out....and try to 'thump' some grammar into her. She literally punched her on the back...until the girl's mother contacted the headmistress about it" - idem personal communication 17 July 1994. This may be a case of Smout's 'smashing facts' made real but while such violence was clearly still possible in Senior Secondary schools as late as 1941 it is equally clear that it was not generally acceptable.

[75] Oram op cit in Hunt [ed] op cit p 116.

[76] Lewis Grassie Gibbon *The 13th Disciple* (Edinburgh: B & W Publishing, 1931/1995) p 14.

Morag Croll, quoted in parallel with Mitchell above (chapter five) bears quotation here. She describes the staff of her school as consisting of "Mr Leckie Reid [the headmaster]...[a] second headmaster - who also taught primary 7....Mr Robert Reid...most definitely the prototype for the sadistic commandant of the German prisoner of war camp....Mrs Reid (Robert Reid's wife), Miss Winnie Reid, Miss Jessie Reid and Miss Mary Reid", she adds, "you will understand that the staff was completely infiltrated with Reids" - Morag Croll personal communication 18th May 1994.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Penny Summerfield "An Oral History of Schooling in Lancashire: 1900-1950" *Oral History* vol 15 no 2 autumn 1987.

[79] Ibid p 22.

[80] Helen Corr "The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession: 1872-1914" in Humes and Paterson [eds] op cit p 137.

[81] Ibid p 137.

[82] Maureen E Wrightson [b 1934] # 28.

[83] Duncan op cit.

[84] M MacD op cit.

[85] Adamson op cit.

[86] Hamilton op cit.

[87] Elsie Douglas [b 1913] # 6.

[88] Stewart op cit.

[89] Urquhart op cit.

[90] Paul op cit # 19 [b].

[91] M B [b 1922] # 3; McDonald Bellamy op cit; Blacklaws op cit; Robertson op cit; Jenny Chaplin [b 1928, Glasgow/Govan] # 9; Ellen E Milne [b 1927 Aberdeen] # 18; E R op cit; & Tod op cit.

[92] Adamson op cit.

[93] Urquhart op cit.

[94] Paul op cit.

[95] See, for example, *The Times Educational Supplement* "Male Brain Rattled by Curriculum 'Oestrogen'" 15th March 1996.

[96] Colin McGeorge "How Katy Did at School" *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies* vol 22 no 1 1987 p 103.

[97] Thomas Kellaghan and Mary Hegarty "Participation in the Leaving Certificate Examination: 1961-1980" *Iris Eireannach an Oideachais* vol 18 nos 1 & 2 summer & winter 1984 p 74.

[98] S J Curtis *History of Education in Britain* (London: University Tutorial Press, 1967) p 546.

[99] Catherine MacLean "The Theory and Practice of Equal Opportunities in Scotland" *Scottish Affairs* vol 1 no 6 winter 1994 p 42.

[100] Annie Hamilton # 12.

[101] A J Cronin *Hatter's Castle* (London: Victor Gollanz, 1931/1961) p 456.

[102] Ibid p 456.

[103] Anderson and Zinsser p 153.

[104] See George J Makari "Educated Insane: A Nineteenth Century Psychiatric Paradigm" *Journal of the History of Behavioural Science* vol 29 no 1 January 1993.

[105] McGeorge op cit p 111.

[106] Jane Purvis *A History of Women's Education in England* (Milton Keynes: Open University Press, 1991) p 127.

[107] See, for example, A Binet and N Vaschide "The Influence of Intellectual Work on the Blood-Pressure in Man" *The Psychological Bulletin* vol IV 1897.

[108] See, for example, Helen Elizabeth Eagleson "Periodic Changes in Blood Pressure, Muscular Coördination, and Mental Efficiency in Women" *Comparative Psychological Monographs* vol IV no 20 1926-1927.

[109] See, C N Allen "Recent Studies in Sex Differences" *The Psychological Bulletin* vol XXXVIII 1930.

Allen reviews a wide range of then current psychological literature on gender/sex which I have suggested was the product of reaction to changed and changing female social, political, personal and economic roles. He is dismissive of much of it and especially so of what we might call the 'menstruation/intellectual performance sub-genre' to which he devotes a whole section - *ibid* especially p 395.

[110] Hamilton op cit.

[111] H2 ledgers at ED/36/2; ED/36/33 & ED/36/34.

[112] Drawing had been one of the principal subjects in which girls were presented in the first round of higher public examinations for girls in England in the 1860s and even then it was remarked that despite its centrality in the curriculum of "[subjects] studied by ladies as accomplishments", actual standards of attainment were low - *The Museum* "Cambridge Local Examination of Girls" new series vol I 1st June 1864 p 95.

[113] Leonore O'Boyle "A Possible Model for the study of Nineteenth-Century Secondary Education in Europe" *Journal of Social History* vol 12 no 2 winter 1978 p 240.

[114] Jamieson op cit pp 36-37.

[115] Michael W Apple *Ideology and Curriculum* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979) p 166.

Before concluding this work, I proceed to developing a psychology of education or, more specifically, a psychology of *educational expectation* at both elementary/primary and higher/secondary level for Scottish girls and their families between 1872 and 1945. As in the past two chapters I concentrate primarily on the mainstream, urban, Protestant experience though certain aspects of this analysis are applicable (in declining order of relevance) to the rural, Catholic and independent school contexts which I have discussed previously. The analysis aims to be as widely applicable as possible but accepts the challenge of working with highly personal sources suggested by Mary Jo Maynes¹ and Jane DuPree Begos² as outlined previously. However I turn first to some philosophical considerations of historical method and knowledge. I discuss aspects both of what can be expected of the whose who live[d] in the past and of what can be expected of the historian in his/her interrogation of the past and those who live[d] there.

As we have seen in previous chapters educational experiences for girls in Scotland in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries varied quite enormously. The range is from the unremittingly poverty of expectation and opportunity of Janet Stewart:

*My parents had no expectations of what I
could achieve.....I myself had no idea what
I could do with my life*³

or the girl Margaret whose lack of prospects and dearth of familial encouragement A S Neill mourned⁴ to the opportunities offered but refused by Jean Rennie⁵ and the opportunities seized by Jennie Lee⁶.

Much currently available literature on education history, both specifically Scottish and from furth of Scotland, explains such experiences by invoking reasons more obviously sociological than psychological⁷. If one girl had what another had not

then this is assumed to be a function of differences in class, regional or religious background but if human life is lived where sociology and psychology meet then such explanations can - at best - be only half the picture. If the problem is what to do about an academic social history which has sometimes become the history of society with the people taken out⁸, then psychological reflection may help produce a social history which puts the people back. There is no sociological account of the history of Scottish girls' education couched in the language of the general which can do justice to the diversity of the truth. The picture is far more complicated than sociological social histories will ever allow. If we deny or ignore this then we run the risk of diminishing individual experiences because they do not suit the scholarly pattern. If social history ever did suffer from the problem of excessively "celebrating 'experience' but eschewing 'explanation'"⁹, it has long since overcome this 'deficiency' in tending increasingly towards quantitative, statistical, abstract and impersonal Cliometrics¹⁰.

Psychological explanations of educational history hitherto have concentrated on the 'great' minds of the architects of the national system and have seen structural and organisational changes as a function of their individual vision[s]¹¹ and I take it to be against this limited and limiting understanding of the past which sociological histories of education are a reaction. However, were it possible to develop ideas concerning historical *mass* psychology in matters of choice (in this case, educational choice) surely it would be necessary to do so. Charismatic and forceful individuals certainly did shape the original system to their personal wills to a considerable extent, though they operated within ideological, economic and political constraints, but those on/for whom the system operated (parents and children) were themselves individuals and the ways in which they 'worked' the system require to be understood by reference to their psychological needs and considerations. To accomplish this there is no call for any particularly formalised psychological theory to be brought into play. I take it that the project of

developing a specifically psychoanalytical history has long since been discredited and put to flight¹². Rather, the most powerful tools available to psychology, never bettered since Descartes, have always been the microscope of introspection on self and the telescope of reflection on others. It is precisely these devices which I employ here and which I have employed in previous chapters.

There are no higher reasons than human reasons and no more important truths than human truths. The novelist has always understood this. The greatest novelists have always understood it most fully. When he is dead, but before he is buried, Chris Guthrie stands over the coffin of the father who did nothing but obstruct her every educational ambition and thinks "[of] all the fine things of him that the years had hidden...[and] the fight unwearied he'd fought with the land and its masters...[until] God had beaten him in the end....and poisoned his love to hate". Then, for the first time, she mourns, "*Oh father, I didn't know!*"¹³. She knows then, and Grassie Gibbon uses her to remind or teach us all, that her father's story was his own as each person's always is. The limitation of sociological discourse arises from the failure or refusal to appreciate this.

Within sociological social history, the dominant discourse in the historiography of Greater European socio-political life in the nineteenth century is economic. The same discourse spills over into many histories of the early twentieth century. This economically inclined sociological social history has had a significant impact on analyses of education history in that both official and personal decisions are often made to seem to have been exclusively derived from economics. In effect, the bureaucrat or legislator is made always to ask 'how can the country's economy best be served by using its education system?' and the parent (particularly the father) is made to ask 'how can my family's finances best be served by using the education system?'

Writing in retirement of his professional life and travels as an itinerant HMI [c 1870s], John Kerr reported an overheard conversation in which one Aberdeenshire farmer confessed to another that he was convinced:

*the best thing poor men.can do with our small savings is to give it to the education of our children; and we should give more to the lassies than to the lads.....[because] the lads can always earn a fine living with a pick and a spade. But the lassies canna do that at all. If you give them a fine education they'll make a good marriage though.*¹⁴

In so far as they seek or use autobiographical and personal narrative sources at all, this is precisely the sort most preferred by many contemporary social historians writing on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries¹⁵. It fits the terms of the most common discourse perfectly. In writing of an age of prosperity and poverty, Marx and machinery, almost all social historical analyses and explanations sooner or later work their way back to the world of economics. Details vary from analysis to analysis, but the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are predominantly characterised as "the new age...of the bourgeois man - *homo economicus*"¹⁶. Education is cast as subordinate to the imperatives of that new age whether this be at the most basic or more advanced levels with almost all currently prevalent explanations of educational events, processes and experiences keen to "emphasize the links between industrialization, urbanization and schooling"¹⁷ in one way or another. All of which emphasis runs the risk of ignoring the individual and personal components in educational choices.

It is often tempting to ascribe to those living in the past psychologies far less rich and complicated than our own. In this case, all nineteenth century educationally related decisions and many of those still being made in the early twentieth century are made to seem like mere financial calculations. The truth is that while the past may be another country where 'they' do things differently, it is not so very

different and nor are those who live[d] there. This is not to say that Kerr did not report the conversation accurately (there is no reason to assume this); nor to say that the anonymous farmer concerned did not mean what he said but that such a belief on the part of the unknown farmer can represent only a *fraction* of his psychology. Did he truly think of his daughter in no terms other than the economic? It is ridiculous to say so and yet the frequent lack of regard for individual psychological considerations amongst sociologically minded social historians and the substitution of psychological reasons by an economic calculus has the effect of insisting that he did. Fully reconstructing the psychology of that Aberdeenshire farmer (as of any parent of a girl of school age in the period 1872 to 1945) is impossible, but where some reconstruction is possible using suitably perceptive personal narrative and fictional sources it must be undertaken.

This is not to attribute any failing to those historians who labour in the mines of statistical research. Rather, it is simply to insist that their work, while necessary, is not sufficient on its own.

As over emphasis on the sociological economics of education can obscure psychological truth so too other discourses can, and do, impose themselves on academic and popular consciousness in such a way as to make it difficult to reconstruct individual psychologies from the past. This is certainly the case with crudely or excessively applied feminist thought which seeks to reduce all the history of all women to endless stories of oppression and victimisation. A more subtle feminist agenda for educational historians comes from scholar Mary Leach who argues that "assuming [a female educational history]....of unchanging victimization....[is] fundamentally ahistorical"; by contrast, she offers at least "*tentative*" support [original emphasis] for the suggestion that "'history' [may be]....a tale of many voices and forms of power exercised by the weak and the marginal as well as by the dominant and strong"¹⁸. This analysis suggests a vital

interaction between the things which happen in a life and the things which are done. It denies the individual passivity implicit in much sociological social history and restores initiative, will and personal reasoning (putting people back into their own lives) by asserting that there is always scope for meaningful personal actions even in the face of the most seemingly inexorable social forces.

Leaving the door open to considerations of the individual and the psychological allows the contradictions of Elizabeth Grey who assures us that she "enjoyed...childhood.....My parents didn't say what I had to do after school. It was up to me what I did"¹⁹ and Jean Charleson [b 1922] who is convinced that "Parents somehow....wanted you to leave school...to go out and work"²⁰ to be reconciled. It allows Ethel Hay [b 1914, Dundee] who "never had no kisses, cuddles, stories, loving, nothing" and, as a result, "had no ambitions, I was so cowered down"²¹ to sit alongside Emily Hagues [b 1916 in Port Elphinstone, near Aberdeen] who "had a very happy childhood" despite the fact that she "left school at sixteen and went into domestic service"²².

Butterfield, one of the greatest historiographers to have written in English - perhaps *the* greatest²³, certainly one of the few to have had an idea (Whig history) enter the language - once said that: "History deals with the drama of human life as the affair of individual personalities, possessing self-consciousness, intellect and freedom. Imagine human beings without these three things and you will find it difficult to write historical narrative at all"²⁴. In the theatre of life, the stage may be set by sociology and economics but the players are always different and as life is an improvised drama it *is* the actors who write the script. Cases of the lives of women whose parents somehow stood out against their sociological circumstances thus become as important and as interesting as those who accepted the constraints within which they lived and operated.

That there were differences between the quantity and quality of educational experience on offer to girls and boys in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 is not at issue. That these differences were often marked and that girls standardly had the physically poorer or less elaborate/extensive experience is not at issue either. What is at issue is how to explain the actions of a man such as historian J D Young's grandfather of whom he writes in an autobiographical essay:

Because my grandfather.....had a passion for education, he sent money to Alice Laughton [adoptive mother of the child whom he had abandoned] for my mother's education [and as a] consequence.....my mother attended Linlithgow Academy until she reached the age of sixteen [in 1923].²⁵

Quite simply, what might the source of this, or any other man's, passion for a daughter's formal education have been? (In the immediate instance of Young's grandfather the answer 'lingering guilt at having abandoned his daughter' does present itself as a solution though this may have been combined with a genuine love of learning in himself and others.)

More generally, this is less a question of fact than one of meaning but it is still sufficiently a question of fact so as not to lapse into the 'philosophy done badly' of much 'Post-modernism'. In its historical guise, this loose amalgam of self-inflated practices and ideas seems to suggest that, as events can be 'read' but not understood so there can never be any instance of the sympathetic imagination (and understanding) - the flash of lightning - so vital to using autobiographies as historical sources. There is no common humanity in post-modernism. Post-modernism makes passive victims of us all by insisting that acts, whether committed by some subject whom one is studying in the past or by oneself in the present, are incapable of signifying anything except those things of which the actor's life has made him/her a signifier. There is even less scope in a study such

as this for accepting such a proposition than there is for accepting the various products of bureaucratic and statistical/sociological histories. Bureaucratic histories do at least establish when, where and by what means Acts of parliament were passed, funds were voted for certain purposes and so on; statistically driven sociological histories also provide many useful data. By contrast, it is often hard to see what the worst excesses of post-modern intellectual tail chasing contribute to any historical project. Earlier objections to Elton notwithstanding, it is thus not difficult to sympathise with his more recent attacks on certain post-modern excesses. It may be true that a certain patrician authoritarianism leads Elton to imagine that "if history could speak for 'itself'....then it would....speak Eltonian"²⁶ and it may be that he does resort to *ad hominem* arguments to express his disapproval of post-modern history but the most recent self-avowedly post-modern counter attack on Elton is itself little more than a lengthy *ad hominem* argument to the effect that he is out of depth when he discusses the post-modern project²⁷. Elton in turn might well reply that post-modernism is simply too shallow to make it possible that he would be out of his depth²⁸.

Returning to working towards practical understanding of past psychologies by using autobiographical sources, how is the 'Young question' to be answered? As we saw in the fictional case of Cronin's *Hatter's Castle* in chapter six, the reasons for such a passion or drive could be bound up with something as sordid as personal aggrandisement but they might well be far 'higher' than that. Without bitterness or rancour, Glasgow Jewish autodidact Ralph Glasser has written of his 1930s childhood and describes the relationship between his resolutely working class father and his sister, Lilian, thus:

*Lilian [was].....the apple of his eye,
brainy, articulate, lucent, confident [the]
incarnation perhaps of the soul trapped
inside himself.*²⁹

Glasser's father was apparently more readily able to accept his daughter's academic success (leaving school with above average results she entered accountancy) than his son's. "He did not see my going to Oxford....as a romantic, heroic quest, but prosaically as doing something 'to better myself'"³⁰. But though this is how Glasser describes his father's reaction to his winning a scholarship and leaving the 'mean city' for the 'dreaming spires', a remark of his father's which he quotes later contradicts this and is surely more telling. Returning from Oxford for his first vacation, Glasser records that:

*The world I described with the uncertain eagerness
of youth was to him not only a foreign land,
unknowable, but, more to the point, contained
no hint of that better life that was the only reason
for a son to leave home.*³¹

Glasser then goes on to quote and translate his father's Yiddish judgement ,
"Vossgoot kimit? Vee kanness a bessernlayben verdeenen - mit kayn trade in
hant?" ('What good will come of it? How will you earn a living with no trade in
your hand?')"³². And still fascinated by the three way relationship between father,
daughter/sister and son/brother when he came to write his third volume of
autobiography, Glasser gives his most mature and surely most honest reflection
on this triangle when he acknowledges that his father "might have tried to see
in...[Lilian] the bold first-born son he wished he had had, and imagine[d] how
different life might have been then"³³.

Lilian's success is both all the more necessary and all the easier to accept for
Glasser senior. In the version of events we have from Glasser junior, it was
through Lilian that their father wanted to live vicariously. There existed a
predetermined route along which his son Ralph ought to have advanced. He
should have acquired a trade, married, settled near his family home and so on. If

he moved away, if he was bold, that too should have conformed to a pattern of expectation as generations of Jewish emigration had. No matter how successful Ralph might be or become, his deviation from the prescribed could not be forgiven. Lilian was not a son but as long as a real son existed (and if that son behaved as he ought to) Lilian could be imagined to be a son and could be the source of vicarious pleasure. The third child in the Glasser family, another girl, was considered not to have the wit or the will to fulfil her father's lust to see someone live the life he had not, but Ralph who might have played that part still could not be allowed to.

Only Lilian had the means and could be permitted the opportunity to satisfy such complicated vicarious needs and desires. As a female, the trade/home/family imperatives applied less rigidly to her than to her brother. Glasser is of course telling his father's story and we can never know that father's version of events, but stemming from years of careful, lucid and often painfully honest self and familial analysis, his thoughts on the subject of the relationship between his father and his sister deserve to be taken seriously.

A close contemporary of Glasser, Mary McGhee's unpublished manuscript autobiography is in the care of the Mitchell Library in Glasgow and though far less well known than Glasser's three volumes it is no less eloquent and insightful. She records that her father:

had been in the 1914-1918 [war].....in India. He.....taught me phrases in the different Indian dialects.....'But watch' he says [sic] 'school is different, don't speak unless spoken to. They are strict in schools'.³⁴

Later she adds that "Both [parents] loved me....but Da had the time to sit with me, hug me and teach me new and different ideas"³⁵. Here, in this image reminiscent of Scout Finch curled up on Atticus's lap learning to read from his newspaper, we have the story of a father passionate about his daughter's education (though Mr McGhee put little store by formal schooling it seems). Earlier in the century (1904), Edinburgh born William Anderson recorded his pleasure at his daughter's intellectual inquisitiveness and precocity.

This evening I took [her].....with me to the S D F meeting at the Mound. I got a lot of names for Pioneer Books [subscriptions].....While I was collecting names,.....[she] was busy collecting tramway tickets. I am the simple tool that has to carry her collection.....She will amount to something yet.³⁶

A man who seems unlikely to have had any serious expectation his diary would be published almost a century later is unlikely to have been disingenuous. There is something slightly patronising in Anderson's description of his daughter's activities and while this is not to doubt the sincere affection he seems also to have had towards her it may be that he recognised the possibilities of the ornamental value of a clever seeming girl child. This does not invalidate the sincerity of a father's affection, it simply complicates it just as Glasser senior's vicarious desires complicated his affection for Lilian and his desire to see her succeed arising from that affection.

Personal narratives reveal that mothers too might take a lead in promoting educational development for daughters. Perhaps because they had themselves been encouraged to value education in the generations since 1872 (or perhaps because they had not but wished that they had), many working class mothers of the 1910s, '20s and '30s seem to have been educationally determined for their daughters. Jane Mitchell's father "always the less vocal" simply "agreed" when his

wife "made it clear to enquiring relatives that there would no question" of Mitchell's not having every possible scholastic opportunity³⁷. If mothers were less often present in such roles then it may be because, even in the Glasgow of the 1930s described at the time as "abound[ing] in buoyant, intelligent and infinitely energetic women"³⁸, it was still fathers who were best able to take on the project of overseeing and promoting a daughter's education. As Mary McGhee suggests, "Da had the time to sit with me, hug me and teach me new and different ideas"³⁹. A father who took such time might have been confounding gender expectations in some respects but he could as easily be confirming them in others if he allowed his wife's domestic labour to buy him that time and that leisure and he was certainly indulging himself in indulging his daughter. This then brings us to a new question: was promoting daughters' education in this way an exclusively or predominantly male preserve?

Assessing the balance between interventionist fathers and mothers is difficult but one possible measure does exist. Few women/girls at all may have been able to read before they started formal schooling in the period 1872 to 1945. The professionalisation of education in the period and since has almost certainly led to teachers being suspicious of amateur parental interference as Mary McGhee's father hinted in his warning that "school is different". Many parents themselves, especially mothers⁴⁰, may have been intimidated into inactivity in the face of professional hostility to their efforts. It has been suggested that "child-parent relations were more encompassing in the past [ie before the modern period] than they are now, taking in strands which have become, with the [increasing] division of labour, the relations between employer and employee and between teacher and pupil"⁴¹.

However, employing what might be call the 'Finch Test' and taking early promotion of basic literacy as generally indicative of a childhood in an

educationally interested family, do fathers, mothers or others feature as the most common teachers? Widely separated in time of birth (1908 and 1930 respectively) and of different confessional and educational backgrounds (the one quite devoutly Roman Catholic the other from the at least nominally Protestant mainstream) H M and Elizabeth Adamson both had fathers who took the time to teach them to 'read' or at least recognise letters before they started school⁴². It may be significant that each of these women was the daughter of a skilled artisan (a bootmaker and a blacksmith and barrowmaker respectively) with trades which harked back to a pre-industrial age when the often de-humanising imperatives of wage labour did not necessarily apply so rigorously. Adventure schoolmasters do seem often to have come from sedentary artisan occupations such as bootmaking and to have combined trade with tuition. But whether this is so or not concerns us less than the balance of male/female initiative in such early home teaching.

More closely proximate in their birthdates (1927 and 1934), daughters respectively of a railway porter and a semi-skilled dockyard worker (and as before, one Catholic and one Protestant), J M and Maureen Wrightson seem both to have been taught rudimentary reading by their mothers⁴³. (J M *thinks* this was the case but is slightly unsure.) From other women a picture emerges of mixed maternal, paternal and other involvement in their pre-schooling, attributing it to: "my mother, my great aunt, my father and brother, [who] all....helped me a little"⁴⁴; "Possibly older members of the family"⁴⁵; "my parents - [but] I don't know how"⁴⁶; "[my] parents and older brother"⁴⁷; "[my] older sisters"⁴⁸. As before, this self selecting sample may be too small to support wide statistical generalisations over time but the pattern which suggests itself is one which does not assign exclusivity in promoting early learning to fathers, mothers or anyone else for that matter. However imprecisely, it does certainly show maternal activity in this respect.

In official circles, the idea of mothers as promoters of educational aspiration and success may have been taken less seriously than it deserved to be. As with much of his work, Robin Jenkins's 1956 novel *Guests of War* is critically accepted as a largely accurate document of the times, places and people it recalls⁴⁹. As a study of the trials and tribulations of wartime evacuees from fictional Gowburgh - a thinly disguised Glasgow - it is worth considering on this theme for the following meditation which he gives to his character Bell McShelvie.

*Mr Grahamstone, the headmaster,.....blamed her for the wildness of her [child] Tom, the recurrent illness of Elfie, and the scholastic backwardness of Sammy, but he never seemed to congratulate her on the cleverness of Jean, who was always first in her class*⁵⁰.

Further, it has been persuasively argued that "fundamental[ly] 'Hobbesian'.....preconceptions"⁵¹ which imagine that maternal love was particularly lacking for as long as infant mortality remained high⁵² have contributed to producing "A teleological and now largely discredited history of childhood, in which modern times are seen as the only true begetters of childhood"⁵³. Thus official attitudes in the period 1872 to 1945 and some academic and popular thought since may conspire to edge mothers out of the role of educational promoter but personal narratives and fictional sources in the period 1872 to 1945 do often suggest otherwise.

Perhaps it is only saints who have genuinely altruistic relationships and where a mother or father was educationally assertive there may always have been some desire for reciprocal benefit. With fathers this might, as suggested above, come in the shape of vicarious living or the amelioration of guilt for otherwise neglecting the father/daughter relationship; alternatively there might be some satisfaction in indulging or patronising a daughter especially through teaching her oneself and

there could always be ornamental significance or reflected glory in having a well educated, 'bright' daughter. For mothers, vicarious fulfilment of expectations seems the most likely personal/psychological imperative to have been at work. When Jean Rennie recalls her mother's sadness at her unilateral decision to opt out of further schooling and ease the family's economic position by seeking work from the earliest age possible, there is a strong hint of a mother denied a chance to re-live her own lost opportunities through her daughter⁵⁴. Mary McGhee, whose mother's educational opportunities had been cut short at an early age, suggests something similar⁵⁵. When Margaret Stewart [b c 1910] says "Parents, aware of their lack of opportunity" (especially acute in the case of a Catholic family such as hers but generally true nonetheless) "hoped their children would take the chance of education denied them"⁵⁶, she seems at least to *think* that she is speaking for many people other than herself. This analysis does not contradict the importance earlier attributed to the virtuous spiral, because it seems to have been the limited but enjoyed and valued success of each generation which spurred it on to expect more for and demand more of the next.

The degree of success in any one generation need not have been great to be real enough in its impulse for greater success in the next. There is not necessarily a clash between the imperative of the virtuous circle/spiral and that of the desire for vicarious fulfilment. When Chris Guthrie's son Ewan attends the College at Dundon he is "cool and calm....[and] proud as dirt...[even though h]e was only the son of a crofter.....killed in the war and his only luck [was that] his mother had [re]married into a Manse"⁵⁷. Though it is the opinion of those around him that "his stepfather, the minister Colquhoun, did all his lessons and he [Ewan] got all the credit"⁵⁸, it is clear in context that some part of his success lies in Chris's determination to have him satisfy and extend her own thwarted potential. Mary McGhee's mother had enjoyed the early support of a determined teacher in her native Ulster and in Mrs McGhee senior's concern for Mary's future schooling,

what we might call the vicarious and the virtuous imperatives seem to have been collapsed together. Thus, both what she had had in the way of educational opportunity and what she had been denied impelled Mrs McGhee to take such an interest in Mary's success⁵⁹. Overall, using the Edwardian personal narratives collected by Paul Thompson it has been argued that between the 1870s and the end of the First World War:

[while i]t is possible that working people actually gave priority to educating their sons rather than their daughters.....even if true,[this] 'fact' would not invalidate the conclusion that most girls perceived parental interest in their education and that perception undoubtedly boosted their self-esteem and intellectual ambitions [original emphasis].⁶⁰

It does not seem to stretch credibility too greatly to extent this to the interwar years. Gender divisions may have hardened in the 1920s and '30s but formal access to education for girls did improve as general access increased and improved after the 1918 Act with the gradual creeping upwards of the leaving age and the provision of some secondary schooling for all. No matter how little any of this may have been, "we [who live today] should avoid projecting our own intellectual needs and demands on past generations"⁶¹. And it has been emphasised that even where expectations, opportunities and success were at their lowest, "the extent of [women's] resentment [at this] should not be overstated"⁶². Thus I move finally to developing a psychology of educational expectation of girls themselves between 1872 and 1945 which will cover as many Scottish girls schooled in the period as possible.

The self professed Stoicism of those who live[d] in the past can sometimes be a little daunting. Complaint over anything is rarely a motif of Scottish women's personal narratives of childhood and education. They went bare foot to school⁶³;

they did not cry when physically punished⁶⁴ and, so it would seem, those obliged to accept no more than the barest legal minimum of schooling were in fact often only too pleased that this was the case⁶⁵. The marginal difference in favour of girls being happier at school than boys and preferring to stay there as long as possible is acknowledged by overlapping independent research from the 1870s to the First World War⁶⁶ and from the 1900s to the 1930s⁶⁷. What is far harder to say is why this should have been the case. Perhaps researchers do not know the answer[s] here because subjects themselves do not often know. It may be far easier to say *that* one valued and enjoyed school and considered it purposive so that one wanted more, than to say *why* one found school purposive⁶⁸. However, it does bear saying that the acceptance of an early leaving date need not contradict the idea of having a sense of educational purpose. The acceptance of the challenges of the adult world can be a positive reason for not only being resigned to leaving school but welcoming that leaving. Although she is writing exclusively of the north of England, there may be much in Elizabeth Robert's claim that:

*working-class girls[s between the 1890s and the 1940s]
on the point of leaving school had already
learned much....[about] adult life.....[including, how]
to be a child-minder and housekeeper, how to
manage money.....and the duties owed to neighbours
in need*⁶⁹.

Chris Guthrie's mother taught her "*there are better things than...books or studies*"⁷⁰ and while it may be a whole great philosophical debate as to whether or not there truly are *better* things than books or studies it is certainly true that there *are* other things, a fact which the educational historian or researcher may easily forget. The sense in which girls found, or thought, themselves to be embracing adulthood by leaving school must not be disregarded in any psychology of educational expectation. Girls who knew themselves capable within

the terms and conventions of their own lives ("ultimate in themselves" as Walt Whitman says in his poem "A Woman Waits For Me") may always have chaffed against the "childish things" of school and have sought to "put them aside" in a way which is simply bewildering to the educational researcher who knows (and cares) of little but "books and studies". Whether any such decision to welcome school leaving at an early age was *wise* or not is quite another question. What matters here is the distinct possibility of the concurrence of what was going to happen and what was desired to happen. A psychology of educational aspiration for Scottish girls between 1872 and 1945 must include an understandable "[desire] to learn and then find reasonable employment"⁷¹ but it ought not to neglect a simpler imperative to get on with life and practice "a self-confidence in...personal judgement which was rarely questioned"⁷². Those who are wise do not bite the hand that feeds, them and Marxist and post-Marxist arguments on false consciousness have it that those who are indoctrinated positively lick the hand that beats them but this underestimates the significance of the simpler pleasures in life. Again it would take a moral argument to show that large numbers of Scottish girls (even if slightly smaller numbers of girls than boys) between 1872 and 1945 ought not to have been satisfied with fairly minimal formal schooling⁷³ but it remains a fact that they were.

Social histories are not as easily concluded as are political, economic, intellectual or other histories. Social life rarely reaches any abrupt halts or turning points. There are no floods and neither fire nor brimstone *does* rain down as on the cities of the plain. One generation merges into another and then another and social change is far more often seen retrospectively than contemporaneously. Short of civil war or revolution, the lives of societies are rarely punctuated by distinct events as the lives of parliaments, parties and politicians are punctuated by elections or as economics is punctuated by booms and slumps and as intellectual life is punctuated by paradigmatic shifts in understanding. All of these things -

elections, booms/slumps and paradigm shifts - contribute to social change but they do not have the often dateable and precise implications in social life that they may have in politics, economics or the intellectual sphere[s]. Social history does not have turning points because it is not linear. The metaphor of the time line or time's arrow does not belong in the study of social history. More appropriate perhaps is the image of the object dropped in water. The history of any society is the history of ripples radiating outwards from a notional single point on a previously calm and still surface (though this may seem to bring us back to the flood and the dropping of the ark's anchor perhaps). Society is circular, like a ripple, in the sense that it is all encompassing but it is even more like a ripple in that change comes through diminution. Each ripple is slightly less dark, slightly less concentrated, slightly less intense than the last. The technical term for the spread of ripples or waves is 'propagation' and society grows and changes through propagation also, thus the metaphor is complete. At times one set of ripples will come into conflict with another and either larger, darker waves (wars) or flatter, lighter calms (instances of social homogenisation such as the supposed present day Americanisation of Britain) will be the result. Social history is the more or less precise measurement of the shadings of life. In concluding *The Edwardians*, a work which remains an acknowledged classic both generally in the study of social history and in the use of personal narratives particularly (and he is not as sceptical there of autobiographies and as dogmatic about oral sources as his later work suggests), Paul Thompson reminds us that "general trends are not easily perceived, social change is mostly recognized through particular and often arbitrary events"⁷⁴. He avoids "the grand generalizations of various schools of what may be called trend sociology" and prefers instead to examine "the aggregate of conscious individual decisions"⁷⁵. Elizabeth Roberts emphasises that "Oral history" (and she might have said all personal narrative history) "serves to emphasise the complexity and variety of working-class experience" (and she

might have said the experience of any class)⁷⁶. Social life simply is complicated and varied. All of which being said, what conclusions can be drawn here?

It is true that throughout the period 1872 to 1945, gender was (as it almost certainly still remains) the primary axis along which children define themselves whether in school or not⁷⁷. It is certainly also true that Scottish schools in the period in no wise worked so as to change this but it does not seem plausible to say that they *with highly calculated conspiratorial malice afore thought*⁷⁸ operated (or were made to operate) so as to increase, enhance or encourage this effect. Sara Delamont argued in the early 1980s that British schools were 'out of date' and did not reflect post-World War Two social change⁷⁹. Turning this around, one might say that Scottish schools between 1872 and 1945 were thoroughly '*in date*' in their organisation, curriculum and operation. They show little evidence of being self-consciously progressive institutions but then neither were they aggressively conservative. This is not to say that they were value free environments (an impossibility as we have seen) but that they were un-remarkable in their values in the context of their time. In the wake of the Soviet occupation of what was then Czechoslovakia at the cold and bitter end of the Prague Spring, an anonymous poster appeared on the streets which announced "We Have Not Learned Anything; We Do Not Know Anything; We Do Not Buy Anything; We Do Not Sell Anything; We Do Not Betray.....And We Will Not Forget". So far as girls were concerned in Scotland between 1872 and 1945, schools might be described as having been radically inactive in much the same way. Looking at the recollected experiences of Scottish women educated between 1872 and 1945, looking at the things they did not forget, we find that what schools in that period did not do is far more striking than what they did.

I have explored a variety of themes below and tested the quantity and quality of girls' schooling in Scotland at all levels by a variety of measures. Confronted by a

system which did little for them, Scottish girls themselves between 1872 and 1945 coped as best they individually and collectively could. Where they were permitted and enabled to, they worked hard and succeeded surprisingly well. Where they were not permitted or encouraged to progress academically, they often still exhibited great maturity of understanding of their lives. Though Catholic girls' schools (especially convent schools run by female religious) were less distinctive in Scotland than in England, Catholic girls fared particularly poorly by certain standards but they too worked with the system in which they found themselves. Rural girls often found themselves living and learning in situations which were probably far less often conducive to educational flourishing than the present day popular imagination would have us believe. There is no great evidence that those most favoured in the sense of having the education for which parents paid most (in the independent schools) formed any sort of female leadership class nor even is there evidence that their education was generally greatly different to or better than that of those who stayed longest in the state sector. Allan Massie's argument concerning the deep rootedness of the public schools in Scotland notwithstanding, there is little evidence in personal narratives at least which would lead us to conclude that they made much impact on the lives of Scottish women as a whole, though, as with Catholic convent schools, they were less distinctive than their English counterparts.

As we noted previously, the span from the late 1870s to the mid 1940s might be accounted a human lifetime. In Europe, it was the span between the fall of the second French empire and the third German reich. In north America it was the span between Grant succeeding Lincoln and Truman succeeding Roosevelt. The Japanese imperial house regained *de facto* power and lost it again *de jure* over much the same period; the scramble for Africa gave way to the end of empire. But in some ways all these events, even those in Europe, seem a world away from the realm of Scottish school life in the period. This is not to argue that educational

history is somehow independent of social or political life or even that the history of childhood is not significantly affected by adult events - either of which arguments would be ridiculous. In the Protestant mainstream there existed a gender imbalanced curriculum from 1872 to 1945 though this was never the result of any conscious plan or policy. Even those girls showing most academic promise and in the schools best able to teach them (the 'run of the mill' burgh highs, academies or grammars) suffered exclusion from the most prestigious academic subjects and seem to have been steered from these (especially the Classics and Advanced Mathematics) towards lesser fields of study (particularly Science and Drawing - but neither of these to a conspicuously high level). However parental interest in and commitment to education (a phenomenon never simply correlated with class, region or religious background) cannot be overlooked as a decisive factor in shaping educational outcomes. Even in circumstances in which opportunity and/or parental input may have been lacking, love of humane learning might still emerge and flourish. Even the majority of women who succeeded to the extent that the Scottish educational system allowed them to succeed in the period 1872 to 1945 were ultimately failed by that system because it allowed only limited success. In concentrating in the preceding chapters on the stories of many women who surpassed the normal degree of success it may seem that I have opted to accept the belief that in any system or society where a few from a generally oppressed background can succeed, the system or society itself is not fundamentally flawed but this is not the case. The point is rather that one cannot hope to understand the means and measure of changing female social positions in Scotland and the improvements in personal lives without being prepared to take particular account of the stories of those who have stretched the boundaries of the permitted possibilities in their own lives. The exception is often said to prove the rule but in fact, the exception it is who contributes to changing the rule and may very well play a vital part in showing how the rule was ill-founded in the first place.

Finally, it seems necessary to acknowledge that - even without worrying too deeply as to the nature of autobiography - the choice of personal narratives as the primary source for all the foregoing has patently and inevitably shaped these conclusions. Concentrating on personal narratives focuses the researcher's attention in a very special way, bringing him/her to an appreciation of the small, the human, the touching but also the *telling* details of social life. We may not (as C S Lewis suggested) have read history to the end yet, we certainly have not written it to the end or even written it up to date, but if we are ever to do so the insights which only personal narratives can afford us will be and remain essential.

NOTES

- [1] Mary Jo Maynes "Autobiography and Class Formation in Nineteenth Century Europe: Methodological Considerations" *Social Science History* vol 16 no 3 fall 1992.
- [2] Jane DuPree Begos "The Diaries of Adolescent Girls" *Women's Studies International Quarterly* vol 10 no 1 1987.
- [3] Janet Stewart quoted in Vivien Devlin [ed] *Motherhood from the 1920s to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Polygon Books, 1995) p 15.
- [4] A S Neill *A Dominie's Log* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1915/1986).
- [5] Jean Rennie *Every Other Sunday: The Autobiography of a Kitchenmaid* (London: Arthur Baker, 1955) p 15.
- [6] Jennie Lee *To-Morrow is a New Day* (London: The Cresset Press, 1939) pp 55-56.
- [7] See, for example, Lenore O'Boyle "A Possible Model for the Study of Nineteenth-Century Secondary Education in Europe" *Journal of Social History* vol 12 no 2 winter 1978; Ulla Johansson and Christina Florin "Young Men in Old Institutions: Culture, Class and Gender in Swedish Grammar Schools - A Comparative Perspective" *Scandinavian Journal of History* vol 18 no 3 1993 & Ellen Jordan "'Making Good Wives and Mothers'? The Transformation of Middle-Class Girls' Education in Nineteenth-Century Britain" *History of Education Quarterly* vol 31 no 4 winter 1991; Jonathan Rose "Willingly to School: The Working-Class Response to Elementary Education in Britain, 1875-19182" *Journal of British Studies* vol 32 no 1 April 1993 is a conspicuous exception.
- [8] The original reference here is to G M Trevelyan who described social history as "the history of the people with the politics left out" - quoted and discussed in David Cannadine "What is Social History?" in Juliet Gardiner [ed] *What is History Today?* (London: Macmillan/*History Today*, 1988) pp 54-55.
- [9] Cannadine op cit in Gardiner [ed] op cit p 56.
- [10] See John Clive "The Great Historians in the Age of Cliometrics" in idem *Not By Fact Alone: Essays on the Writing and Reading of History* (London: Wm Collins, first published as a collection 1989/1990).
- [11] See, for example, the biographical studies in Alexander Morgan *Makers of Scottish Education* (London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1929).
- [12] See, for example, Joseph H Berke "When Little Men Become Big" *History Today* vol 45 no 4 April 1995 which attempts to develop a theory of the history of dictatorship based on a 'scientific' understanding of maternal/child relationships. That such considerations as the quantity and quality of a mother's love can be

vitaly important in explaining adult behaviour is not at issue, but the Freudian project of mapping out strict and precise correlations between childhood and adulthood seems unnecessary. Despite Berke's recent writings, as long ago as 1967, Barbara Tuchman's "Woodrow Wilson on Freud's Couch" in idem *Practising History* (London: Macmillan, first published as a collection 1981) surely put the project of psycho-history to flight with her telling deconstruction of an attempt to understand Wilson's settlement of the First World War through close analysis of his personal life and childhood.

[13] Lewis Grassie Gibbon *A Scots Quair* (London: Pan Books, first published as a collection 1946/1982) p 114.

[14] John Kerr *An Inspector Recalls: Selections from the Memoirs of Dr John Kerr* John G Muir [ed] (Aberdeen: Scottish Cultural Press, 1995) p 21.

[15] See, for example, Ron Bellamy "Victorian Economic Values" in Eric M Sigsworth *Victorian Values: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Thought and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988) who argues that it was considered tantamount to a "psychological law", as revealed by autobiographical and cultural sources, that the most satisfying life was that which led to sure transmission of wealth to one's children - ibid p 49. He goes on to argue that "this explanation of human behaviour...[and] the subjective feelings of individuals...dominated...the teaching of economics well into the 1920s" - ibid p 50. This may well be true but it ought not to obscure the fact that other varieties of human reasoning have always been present in decisions such as those of parents about children.

[16] Johansson and Florin op cit p 194.

[17] Aaron Benavot and Phyllis Riddle "The Expansion of Primary Education: 1870-1940" *Sociology of Education* vol 61 July 1988 p 191.

[18] Mary Leach "Towards Writing Feminist Scholarship into History of Education" *Educational Theory* vol 40 no 4 fall 1990 pp 457 & 458.

In this context, by "crudely applied or excessive feminist thinking" I mean something to the following effect.

Following one of the major strands in 1970s radical feminist theory, many feminist historians relied heavily on patriarchal oppression as an explanatory framework. But conspiracy is rarely simple and the last 10 years [ie since c 1983] have seen more attention paid to the possibilities of resistance, negotiation, and mediation.

- Jane Lewis "Women's History, Gender History, and Feminist Politics" in Cheris Kramarae and Dale Spender (eds) *The Knowledge Explosion: Generations of Feminist Scholarship* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993) p 155.

It is against such outmoded feminist thinking that I have always been on my guard here.

[19] Elizabeth Grey in Devlin op cit pp 22-23.

[20] Jean Charleson in ibid pp 23 & 24.

[21] Ethel Hay in ibid pp 19-20.

[22] Emily Hagues in ibid p 22.

[23] On Butterfield's enduring reputation, see John Clive "The Prying Yorkshireman: Herbert Butterfield and the Historian's Task" in idem op cit.

[24] Herbert Butterfield *Christianity and History* (Glasgow: Wm Collins, 1949/1958) p 40.

[25] James D Young untitled essay in *Making Trouble: Autobiographical Explorations and Socialism* (Glasgow: Clydeside Press, 1987) p 7.

[26] Keith Jenkins *On 'What is History?' from Carr and Elton to Rorty and White* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[27] Ibid pp 65-66.

[28] Jenkins summarises the Postmodern history project by repeating the Marxist line to the effect that we make our own history but not entirely at will, adding that historians also describe history in ways which reflect their personal prejudices - which Gibbon might have freely admitted - see ibid pp 178-179.

[29] Ralph Glasser *Growing up in the Gorbals* (London: Pan Books, 1986/1987) p 150.

[30] idem op cit *Gorbals Boy at Oxford* (London: Pan Books, 1988/1990) p 4.

[31] Ibid p 156.

[32] Ibid p 156.

[33] Idem *Gorbals Voices, Siren Songs* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990) p 64.

[34] Mary McGhee untitled autobiographical MS, 1981, Mitchell Library, Glasgow p 2.

[35] Ibid p 57.

[36] William Anderson *No Ordinary Man: William Anderson's Edinburgh Journal, 1903-1906* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh District Council Recreation Department, Libraries Division, nd c 1987 [?]) 16th August 1904 p 146.

[37] Jane Mitchell in Ronald Goldman [ed] *Breakthrough: Autobiographical Accounts of the Education of Some Socially Disadvantaged Children* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968) p 128.

[38] Margery Spring Rice *Working Class Wives* (London: Virago, 1939/1989) p 73.

[39] McGhee op cit p 2.

[40] A theme discussed in a contemporary context in Jane Ribbens "Standing by the School Gate: The Boundaries of Maternal Authority" in Miriam David, Rosalind Edwards, Mary Hughes et idem [eds] *Mothers and Education: Inside Out? Exploring Family-Education Policy and Experience* (London: Macmillan, 1993).

[41] Stephen Wilson "The Myth of Motherhood a Myth: The Historical View of European Child-Rearing" *Social History* vol 9 no 2 May 1984 p 198.

[42] H M # 4 [rc] & Elizabeth Adamson # 1.

[43] J M # 6 [rc] & Maureen E Wrightson # 28.

[44] Eleanor Suttie-Lamb [b 1909, Carnoustie near Dundee, daughter of a Master Grocer] # 22.

[45] Margaret Stewart [b c 1910, Lochgelly in Fife, daughter of a miner] # 10 [rc].

[46] Agnes M Tod [b 1925, West Wemyss in Fife, daughter of an architect, borderline working class?] # 26.

[47] Elizabeth Robertson [b 1926, Banff, daughter of a customs and excise officer, borderline working class?] # 23.

[48] Agnes Gell [b 1924, Haddington, daughter of a farm grieve] # 11.

Ellen J McHugh [b 1915, Dundee, daughter of a chauffeur] also records that she had some basic pre-school literacy but does not say by whom she was taught.

In the cases of women whom I have described as 'borderline working class', I take them to be lower middle class and thus not appreciably distinct for present purposes.

[49] On the social accuracy of Jenkins's work, see Moira Burgess "The Novelist's Map of Glasgow" in Kevin McCarra and Hamish Whyte [eds] *A Glasgow*

Collection: Essays in Honour of Joe Fisher (Glasgow: Glasgow District Libraries Board, 1990).

[50] Robin Jenkins *Guests of War* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press/The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1956/1988) p 9.

[51] Wilson op cit p 182.

[52] On which, see, for example, Carol Dyhouse "Working-Class Mothers and Infant Mortality in England: 1895/1914" *Journal of Social History* vol 12 no 2 1978.

[53] Carolyn Steedman "Bodies, Figures and Physiology: Margaret Macmillan and the Late Nineteenth-Century Remaking of Working-Class Childhood" in Roger Cooter [ed] *In the Name of the Child: Health and Welfare, 1880-1940* (London: Routledge, 1992) p 240.

Stephen Wilson argues at length that these ideas are still deeply rooted in popular rather than academic consciousness and discourse.

[54] Rennie op cit p 15.

[55] McGhee op cit pp 23-24 & 46.

[56] Margaret Stewart # 10 [rc].

[57] Grassie Gibbon op cit *A Scots Quair* p 200.

In the Pan edition of the *Scots Quair* collection, the three books (*Sunset Song*, *Cloud Howe* and *Grey Granite*) are numbered separately. As all previous quotations have come from the book which is primarily the story of Chris's childhood and education, *Sunset Song*, I have not previously indicated this but it is important to note that the reference above is from the second book, *Grey Granite*, the story of Chris's early adulthood and Ewan's childhood and education. All other references to the *Scots Quair* in this and other chapters are to *Sunset Song*.

[58] Ibid p 200.

[59] McGhee op cit pp 23-24 & 46.

[60] Rose op cit p 137 & see Elizabeth Roberts *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984) p 37.

[61] Lyn Jamieson "Growing up in Scotland in the 1900s" in Glasgow Women's Studies Group [eds] *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women's Experiences, 1850/1982* (Glasgow: Pressgang, 1983) p 27.

[62] Rose op cit p 138.

[63] See, for example, The Ferguslie Park Elderly Forum *History on Your Doorstep* (Paisley: Workers' Educational Association/The Ferguslie Park Partnership, 1992) p 9.

[64] See, for example, Dorothy Slee [ed] *Two Generations of Edinburgh Folk* (Edinburgh: Canongate/European Ethnological Research Centre/National Museums of Scotland, 1993) [interview with Grace Messer b 1899] p 12.

[65] Jamieson op cit p 37.

[66] Rose op cit p 134.

[67] Jamieson op cit p 31.

[68] Thus, taking a wide spectrum of birthdates, backgrounds and school experiences and mixing Catholics and non-Catholics, asked "Did you consider there to be a purpose in your [elementary/primary] schooling so that you enjoyed it and wanted to continue in education?", Elizabeth Adamson [b 1930] # 1; Maureen M Donegan [b 1927] # 1 [rc]; Mary M Galloway [b 1915] # 2 [rc]; Elsie Douglas [b 1913] # 6; M Mal [b 1909] # 7 [rc]; E R [b 1922] # 9 [rc]; Margaret Duncan [b 1905] # 10; Agnes Gell [b 1924] # 11; Annie Hamilton [b 1921] # 12; J MacB [b 1924] # 15; M MacD [b 1935] # 16; Edna Paul [b 1930] # 19b; E R [b 1909] # 20; Ann F Robb [b 1927] # 21 & Maureen E Wrightson [b 1934] # 28, could all say that they did but could not say *why* so.

[69] Roberts op cit p 38; see also Jean Faley [ed] *Up Oor Close: Memories of Domestic Life in Glasgow Tenements, 1910-1945* (Glasgow: The Springburn Museum Trust/White Cockade Publishing, 1992) pp 49-58 & Lynn Jamieson and Claire Toynbee [eds] *Country Bairns: Growing Up, 1900-1930* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1992) pp 30-35.

[70] Grassie Gibbon op cit *A Scots Quair* p 27.

[71] H M C [b 1928] # 5 [rc].

[72] Roberts op cit p 38.

[73] Rose op cit p 138.

He makes the same point as to the divergence between the moral *ought* and the factual *did*.

[74] Paul Thompson *The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society* (St Albans: Paladin, 1975/1977) p 305.

[75] Ibid pp 307 & 311.

[76] Roberts op cit p 38.

[77] Sara Delamont *Sex Roles and the School* (London: Methuen & Co, 1980) p 112.

[78] The whole matter of moral agency is notoriously vexed - for the feminist as for anyone - but the doctrine of double effect does at least teach us that there *is* (generally) a degree of difference in the culpability of those who *do* x, y or z and those who simply *allow* x, y or z to happen. Some may say that those who administered and operated Scotland's school system in the period 1872 to 1945 must stand before the bar of historical justice because they failed to put in place active measures to promote girl's schooling so as to ensure that each and every girl had opportunities as good as her male colleagues but - as philosopher Elizabeth Anscombe has so witheringly put it - "fools may say anything". Short of finding some deeply secret SED document entitled 'Girls - How to Foil Them' it will never be possible to show that the neglect of their educations catalogued at length in this thesis (and I may say catalogued as they have never been before in Scottish educational or feminist historiography) reveals moral failing equivalent to that involved in wilful institution and perpetuation of educational inequality. There were (as I have shown) fathers (and others) who actively worked against free and fair educational chances for girls and they do indeed deserve to stand before the court of history for having done so because the existence of men who did not act thus reveals that at no time in Scotland between 1872 and 1945 was it *unthinkable* that girls might be educationally encouraged (and I have shown examples of occasions on which they were). But those who simply administered a system which had the effect of doing girls down educationally - insofar as they did not wake up every morning and think 'Hooray, another day of doing down girls' - were less guilty than those who can be shown to have been actively collusive in the frustrating of educational/personal potential as, for example, by making it clear in that most ringing of phrases that 'there would be no [educated] ladies' in their houses. To repeat, there simply *is* a difference between doing x, y or z and allowing x, y or z to happen. The difference may be slight, the degree of culpability lessened rather than eliminated but it does exist. For a feminist discussion of agency see Barbara Pope "Agency - Who is to Blame?" in Kramarae and Spender (eds) op cit pp 413-422 - though note that this piece reaches no more and no firmer conclusions on the nature of agency than do most such discussions whether they are from feminist perspectives or not. What we can say here is this, in their different ways Scotland's three parallel school systems in the period 1872 to 1945 (state/non-denominational, mainly Protestant, independent and Catholic) exercised power over the physical and intellectual lives of the girls whom they taught. Thinking back to the material recorded in previous chapters it is possible to see that the mainstream, Catholic and independent systems did so equally though differently. Considering the work of a fellow artist the French painter Eugene Delacroix is reputed to said that it was the "Complete expression of an incomplete intelligence". Borrowing and paraphrasing this we might say that Scotland's three (or perhaps four if the rural and the urban mainstream are thought of separately) school systems in the period 1872 to 1945 were the complete expression of the incomplete moral intelligences of those who planned, constructed and ran them. In some respects this moral intelligence (incomplete in

the sense that it condoned and commended gender differentiation) was incomplete because men in positions of (educational) power did not want it to be complete. What they were guilty of, in all the systems, was (ironically) an unwillingness to learn. They did not generally think about what could be done differently or why things ought to be done differently.

[79] Delamont op cit pp 110-115.

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NOTES: This bibliography is organised into several sections - REFERENCE, PRIMARY, FICTIONAL, SECONDARY, OFFICIAL REPORTS and UNPUBLISHED THESES & OTHER ITEMS. Brief newspaper articles with no by-lines appear in the endnotes for various chapters but not here however, some longer newspaper articles containing autobiographical material are cited here. Unless otherwise specified, minor biographical details for well known figures have often come from *Chamber's Scottish Biographical Dictionary*. The distinction between PRIMARY and SECONDARY material operates such that only autobiographies and collections of oral testimony in which the editorial voice is minimal appear as PRIMARY and all other works consulted which are not reference works or works of fiction are designated SECONDARY. Details of selected school texts books in the period appear in BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT I. Brief biographical details of women on whose personal recollections I have drawn are included as APPENDIX I and notes on archival sources as APPENDIX II.

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Note: Because textbooks often do not bear an author's name, the following are grouped in broad categories and arranged by date of publication within those categories. Only then are they arranged alphabetically. The books cited here are all by Scottish publishers and/or show evidence of having been widely used in Scottish schools. It should however be noted that Scottish publishers sold books on the English market and (vice versa) just as they sold books throughout the empire as in the cases of Andrew Archer *A History of Canada for the Use of Schools* (Edinburgh: T Nelson & Sons, 1878) or *The Australian Crown Readers* (Edinburgh: T Nelson & Sons, 1896). Confirmed dates for reprints of books are given in each reference rather than appearing as entries in their own right. See also the bibliography of Kathryn Castle's *Britannia's Children: Reading Colonialism Through Children's Books and Magazines* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996) pp 182-184 which contains sixty or so references to late nineteenth and early twentieth century school text books, some of which are listed below from the Museum of Childhood's collection though others are not, reflecting Castle's concentration on texts used in England.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SUPPLEMENT II

Some varieties of experience are less easily documented than others. Here I give details of and comment minimally on various primary and secondary sources for studying female educational experiences more or less beyond the mainstream of Scottish life between 1872 and 1945. I suggest these as a prolegomena to any future work in the field. I note however that this is far from being a complete list of primary or secondary sources for any of these themes.

SCOTTISH GIRLS, PHYSICAL/INTELLECTUAL DISABILITY AND EDUCATION

PRIMARY: The principal published autobiographical source (and perhaps the only one of its kind) is the autobiography of Marilyn Carr Gillies. Entitled *Look No Hands!* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1982) it is the story of a Dundee girl/woman born, as the title suggests, without hands. Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon [eds] *Out of Sight: The Experience of Disability, 1900-1950* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1993) is a collection of oral sources on the general British experience.

SECONDARY: See Ian F W K Davidson, Gary Woodill and Elizabeth Bredberg "Images of Disability in Nineteenth Century Children's Literature" *Disability and Society* vol 9 no 1 1994 pp 33-46; John Hurt "The Epileptic Child and Special Education Before 1939" *Educational Review* vol 34 no 2 1982 pp 139-146; David Norris "The Born Fool: A Study of Attitudes in Recent Times" *Forward Trends in the Treatment of Backwards Children* vol 8 no 1 winter 1963-1964 pp 13-22 and George O B Thomson "Legislation and Provision for the Mentally Handicapped Child in Scotland since 1906" *Oxford Review of Education* vol 9 no 3 1983 pp 233-240.

SCOTTISH GIRLS, MENTAL ILLNESS, INCARCERATION AND EDUCATION

PRIMARY: There do not appear to be any published female personal narrative sources dealing with childhood 'mental illness' for the period pre-1945 currently available but Jimmy Laing's memoir of his time (from the 1930s to the 1950s) in a variety of institutions for both children and adults does have some material on girls alongside whom he was incarcerated and schooled. See Jimmy Laing and Dermot McQuarrie *Fifty Years in the System* (London: Corgi Books/MIND, 1989).

THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS IN THE SCOTTISH TRAVELLING COMMUNITY

PRIMARY: The principal published primary autobiographical sources dealing with life and learning for a Scottish traveller girl between 1872 and 1945 are the two volumes of autobiography of Betsy Whyte *The Yellow on the Broom: Early Days of a Traveller Woman* (London: Macdonald & Co, 1979/1989) and *Red Rowans and Wild Honey* (London: Corgi Books, 1990/1994). Male traveller's autobiographies include Sandy Stewart *The Book of Sandy Stewart* Roger Leitch

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SECONDARY: A useful survey of secondary material for the whole of Europe on the experiences of travellers and the recording of those experiences by historians in Leo Lucassen "A Blind Spot: Migratory and Travelling Groups in Western European Historiography" *International Review of Social History* vol 38 1993 pp 209-235.

THE FEMALE SCOTTISH JEWISH EXPERIENCE

PRIMARY: I have found no reason to believe that the Scottish Jewish female experience was significantly different to that of the 'mainstream' but I accept the possibility that it may have been. The principal published female Jewish personal narrative source is Evelyn Cowan *Spring Remembered: A Scottish Jewish Childhood* (Edinburgh: Southside, 1974). Other than the books of Ralph Glasser, used and discussed and length in chapter seven, male Jewish autobiographies and memoirs of childhood include Chiam Bermant "How Genteel it Was, How Genteel" *The Herald: Weekender* 27th May 1995, David Dachies *Two Worlds* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 1956/1987) and Jack Caplan *Memories of the Gorbals* (Durham: The Pentland Press, 1991) and there is oral material in Billy Kay [ed] *Odyssey: The Second Collection* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1982).

SECONDARY: See, Kenneth E Collins *Second City Jewry: The Jews of Glasgow in the Age of Expansion, 1790-1919* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Committee, 1990) and idem *Glasgow Jewry: A Guide to the History and Community of the Jews in Glasgow* (Glasgow: Scottish Jewish Archives Committee, 1993). On the Jewish link to the Gorbals district of Glasgow, see Matthew Reisz *Europe's Jewish Quarters* (London: Simon & Schuster, 1991).

OTHER IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES [EXCEPT THE IRISH]

PRIMARY: See Tim Edensor and Mij Kelly [eds] *Moving Worlds: Personal Recollections of Twenty-One Immigrants to Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Polygon, nd c 1990[?]). There is some material on Italian and Lithuanian immigration to Scotland in Billy Kay [ed] *Odyssey* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1980).

SECONDARY: See Mary Edward *Who Belongs to Glasgow? 200 Hundred Years of Migration* (Glasgow: Glasgow District Libraries, 1994) and Anne Dunlop and Robert Miles "Recovering the Lost History of Asian Migration to Scotland" *Immigrants and Minorities* vol 9 no 2 July 1990 pp 144-171.

WORKING CLASS GIRLS 'BOARDED OUT' FROM CITIES AND SENT TO RURAL HIGHLAND/ISLAND COMMUNITIES

PRIMARY: Millie Sutherland's *The Brae House* (London: John Calder Riverun Press, 1979) is an important female autobiographical source and Gavin Bell "Orphan of the Lonely Isle" *The Herald: Weekender* 3rd February 1996, though

only a newspaper feature article, contains some lengthy extracts of primary personal narrative from a woman recalling her pre-Second World War experiences as a 'boarded out' girl. The scheme (originally devised in Edinburgh but most associated with Glasgow) provided for children to be taken from parents considered unwilling and/or unable to care for them to be educated instead in the morally and physically clean environment of the rural highlands and islands. Many of the problems attending on such a compulsory translation of context are captured in a novel by Robin Jenkins, *A Love of Innocence* (Edinburgh: B & W Publishing, 1963/1994).

SECONDARY: A study from France (where the whole economies of several rural districts came to depend on boarded out children - enfants assisté -) is useful for comparative purposes, see Anne Cadoret "'De L'enfant Trouvé' à 'L'enfant Assisté'" *Etudes Rurales* n 107 & 108 1987 pp 195-213.

SCOTTISH GIRLS SENT ABROAD UNDER VARIOUS RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES

PRIMARY/SECONDARY: Though it contains no specifically Scottish material on the various schemes by which young children (sometimes without the consent of their parents) were sent abroad to selected parts of the empire - some, for example, to end up in Australian work camps run by the Christian Brothers of fearful reputation - see Margaret Humphries *Empty Cradles* (London: Doubleday, 1994) and Steve Humphries and Pamela Gordon [eds] *Forbidden Britain: Our Secret Past, 1900-1960* (London: BBC Books, 1994).

APPENDIX I

Listed below are summarised details of the questions put to the women who were kind enough to write or speak to me about their personal school experiences. In each instance of my quoting from or citing some part of a particular woman's story, that woman is named in the notes of the chapter in question. Some biographical details are also given in notes as and when necessary. Some materials shared with me by the women are lodged in the library of the Department of Scottish History in the University of Glasgow but other materials have been held back by request. Every woman included in the survey was allocated a number (1 to 28) though some numbers have been used more than once (for example 11 and 11a). The ten Catholic women from whom I took material are listed as 1[rc] to 10[rc]. The sample's total size was forty-two. This is hardly a vast number and - as I have emphasised more than once in the text of the thesis - the sample was self-selecting. Aware of these limitations I have - as I point out in the introduction - used these women's stories only when no or few other sources were available.

Questions put in writing or interview to the women surveyed;

Did you attend a secondary school? If you did, how many highs, lows or other national awards did you receive and in what subjects were they?

Were male or female teachers more common in your primary/secondary school experience?

What - if any- differences do you remember there being in the teaching styles or attitudes of female as opposed to male teachers?

If you came from a home where it was common to speak Gaelic, Scots or any language other than English, or if you are from a minority cultural or religious group, did you feel especially disadvantaged at primary/secondary school? If so, can you say how? If not, what steps were taken to accommodate your language, culture or religion?

Were you ever subject to corporal punishment at primary/secondary school? What do you remember about the experience[s] of corporal punishment in general and discipline in general?

Scotland is often said to have a long tradition of educational excellence, did you as a female feel that you were part of or excluded from that tradition?

Were there any sorts of educational experience which were denied to you and which you envied others having?

Were your parents/guardians supportive of your education or were you less enthusiastic about attending school than they were about having you attend/

If you attended a secondary school, did you have a sense of superiority over those who had left school earlier than you? Were you aware of childhood relationships being broken because you had stayed on at school and others whom you know had not?

Did you consider your educational experience to be inferior to that of boys whom you knew?

Was your primary/secondary education ever regularly interrupted by demands out on you by your family?

Did you have any formal pre-school education? If so, what form did it take?

Did you arrive at primary school able to read or write? If so, who had taught you?

Did you consider there to be a purpose in your schooling so that you enjoyed it and wanted to continue in education.

If you attended a Roman Catholic school or if you are Jewish, to what extent were you aware of the hierarchy/Rabbinate taking an active or passive interest in the education of girls in your school[s]?

Did your parents approve of such interest?

Do you think that you were educationally well or ill served in this respect?

In general, what makes up your most abiding memory of primary/secondary schooling?

APPENDIX II

By virtue of its nature, this is not a thesis which draws extensively on archival sources. Archival materials are described fully in the relevant chapter notes but I append here details of the principal collections consulted and their locations.

The records of the Scotch/Scottish Education Department (now renamed the Scottish Office Education and Industry Department) are in the keeping of the Scottish Record Office/National Archive of Scotland at West Register House, Edinburgh. Records and reports of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church are also lodged with the SRO, at General Register House and can be consulted there but copies of Church and Free Church annual reports and SED annual reports are published and I have generally consulted those in the University of Glasgow Library. Records and reports of the Archdiocese of Glasgow and *Catholic Directories* for Scotland are in the care respectively of the Archdiocese Office in Glasgow and the Scottish Catholic Archive in Edinburgh. The school textbook collection of the Museum of Childhood is housed in the Edinburgh Central Library but no list or catalogue of this collection currently exists.

